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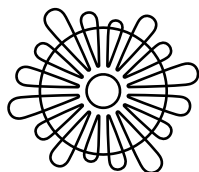
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SADRŽAJ / CONTENTS

JOSIPA BARAKA PERICA

O životu i djelu profesora emeritusa Brunislava Marijanovića
On the Life and Work of Professor Emeritus Brunislav Marijanović

11

ANA MARINOVIĆ

Bibliografija profesora emeritusa Brunislava Marijanovića
Bibliography of Professor Emeritus Brunislav Marijanović

25

LEO ARBUTINA, MARIO BODRUŽIĆ, DARIO VUJEVIĆ

Vela Pećina kod Kali na Ugljanu - novo nalazište kasnoga gornjeg paleolitika
na sjevernodalmatinskim otocima (Izvorni znanstveni članak)
*Vela Pećina Cave near Kali on Ugljan – a New Late Upper Palaeolithic
Site in the Northern Dalmatian Islands (Original scientific paper)*

35

KRISTINA HORVAT OŠTRIĆ, NICHOLAS TRIOZZI,

SARAH B. MCCLURE, KELLY REED, DORIS VIDAS

Rezultati probnoga arheološkog istraživanja neolitičkog
nalazišta Pod Jarugom (Prethodno priopćenje)
*Results of Archaeological Trial Excavations of the
Neolithic Site Pod jarugom (Preliminary report)*

77

TIHOMILA TEŽAK-GREGL

Kakve veze imaju Brezovljani s Butmirom? (Prethodno priopćenje)
What does Brezovljani have to do with Butmir? (Preliminary report)

123

MAJA KRZNARIĆ ŠKRIVANKO

Prostorna distribucija i unutarnja organizacija naselja sopotske
kulture na vinkovačkom području (Prethodno priopćenje)
*The Spatial Distribution and Internal Organisation of Sopot-Culture
Settlements in the Vinkovci Area (Preliminary report)*

141

DRAGANA RAJKOVIĆ, SELENA VITEZOVIĆ

Ukrasni predmeti od školjki s lokaliteta Osijek –
Hermanov vinograd (Izvorni znanstveni članak)
*Mollusc-Shell Decorative items from the Osijek –
Hermanov vinograd Site (Original scientific paper)*

229

JACQUELINE BALEN Lasinjska kultura u Bosni i Hercegovini - u svjetlu nalaza bočice iz Visokog Brda u Lupljanici kod Dervente (Stručni rad) <i>Lasinja Culture in Bosnia and Herzegovina – In the Light of a Miniature Bottle find from Visoko Brdo in Lupljanica near Derventa (Professional paper)</i>	255
MITJA GUŠTIN „Zajednica sa Skadarskog jezera” na prijelazu iz bakrenog u brončano doba (Izvorni znanstveni članak) <i>‘Lake Skadar Community’ at the Turn from the Copper to the Bronze Age (Original scientific paper)</i>	267
BIBA TERŽAN, ANA KRUH Srednjoeuropski elementi na srednjem Jadranu i njegovu zaleđu u rano brončano doba – rekapitulacija (Pregledni članak) <i>Central European Elements in the Central Adriatic and its Hinterland in the Early Bronze Age – A Recapitulation (Review paper)</i>	297
DOMAGOJ PERKIĆ, MARKO DIZDAR, HRVOJE POTREBICA, IVAN PAMIĆ Grob iz starijeg željeznog doba s groblja Nakovana – Zmijna (poluotok Pelješac) (Izvorni znanstveni članak) <i>An Early Iron grave at the Nakovana – Zmijna cemetery (Pelješac Peninsula) (Original scientific paper)</i>	329
MARTINA ČELHAR Fibule tipa Certosa Ic, Id i Ie u kontekstu novih nalaza iz Nadina (Izvorni znanstveni članak) <i>Ic-, Id- and Ie- type Certosa Fibulae in the Context of New Finds from Nadin (Original scientific paper)</i>	371
MATE PARICA Tragovi maslinarstva u prapovijesti istočnog Jadrana (Prethodno priopćenje) <i>Traces of Olive Cultivation in the Prehistoric Eastern Adriatic (Preliminary report)</i>	413

ANA MARINović

Novac gradova Arpija i Dirahija s istraživanja
na solinskoj Zaobilaznici (Stručni rad)
*Coins of the Cities of Arpi and Dyrrachion from Research
on the Solin-Zaobilaznica Site (Professional paper)*

431

DRAŽEN MARŠIĆ

Stubci s protomama Jupitra-Amona i Gorgone iz Zadra i problem
njihova arhitektonskog konteksta (Izvorni znanstveni članak)
*The Pillars with Protomes of Jupiter Ammon and Gorgon from Zadar
and their Architectural Context (Original scientific paper)*

445

FILOMENA SIROVICA, TATJANA TKALČEC, EVA BUĆA
Izvan izvornog konteksta: keramički nalazi iz groblja
oko crkve Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije u Gori
(Izvorni znanstveni članak)

*Outside of the Original Context: Ceramic Finds from
the Graveyard next to the Church of the Assumption of
the Blessed Virgin Mary in Gora (Original scientific paper)*

477

KARLA GUSAR, ANA KARADOLE

Prilog poznavanju kasnosrednjovjekovne i novovjekovne keramike
u Dalmaciji – nalazi sa zadarskog Muraja (Izvorni znanstveni članak)
*A Contribution to the Study of Late Medieval and Early Modern Pottery
in Dalmatia – Finds from Zadar's Muraj (Original scientific paper)*

529

Upute autorima / Instructions for Authors

581



B. Marijanović

Osamnaesti svezak časopisa *Archaeologia Adriatica* posvećen je profesoru emeritusu Brunislavu Marijanoviću u znak zahvalnosti za sve što je učinio za Odjel za arheologiju, Sveučilište u Zadru i arheologiju općenito.

The eighteenth volume of the journal *Archaeologia Adriatica* is dedicated to professor emeritus Brunislav Marijanović, as an expression of gratitude for everything he has done for the Department of Archaeology, University of Zadar and archaeology in general.

STUBCI S PROTOMAMA JUPITRA-AMONA I GORGONE IZ ZADRA I PROBLEM NJIHOVA ARHITEKTONSKOG KONTEKSTA*

THE PILLARS WITH PROTOMES OF JUPITER AMMON AND GORGON FROM ZADAR AND THEIR ARCHITECTURAL CONTEXT*

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S ikonografske i funkcionalne točke gledišta stubci s protomama Jupitra-Amona i Gorgone (Meduze) najinteresantniji su, ali i najkontroverzniji elementi skulpturalne dekoracije Foruma antičkog Jadera. Njihov arhitektonski kontekst ni do danas nije nedvojbeno razjašnjen. Zaslužni istraživač Foruma M. Suić isprva je smatrao da su stajali unutar čone balustrade kapitolijskog hrama. Iako su danas upravo tako prezentirani, tu pretpostavku demantira nekoliko detalja izrade. S vremenom ih je očito postao svjestan i Suić, koji je stubce naknadno pripisao „gornjoj balustradi“ severske bazilike. Tu mogućnost, međutim, negiraju stilske, tehnološke i ikonografske pojedinosti, koje pokazuju da su stubci znatno stariji. Suićevu atribuciju bazilici u nekim tekstovima prati crtača dokumentacija koja stubce igrom slučaja prikazuje unutar galerije forumskog trijema, a upravo je to položaj u koji se stavljaju formom i dekoracijom slični stubci iz Pule. Nedavno otkriće dobro očuvanog pluteja u funkciji ograde između zadarskih stubaca omogućilo je točniju projekciju duljine tih elemenata, a time i udaljenosti na kojoj su stubci izvorno stajali. U radu se na temelju novih spoznaja i recentne literature preispituju mogućnosti arhitektonske kontekstualizacije zadarskih

* Ovaj rad proširen je verzija istoimenog izlaganja održanog na međunarodnom znanstvenom skupu „Antiquitatis sollemnia antidoron Mate Suić“, Zagreb – Zadar, 3. – 6. studenoga 2015. i bio je na vrijeme (2017. god.) predan uredničkom odboru te predviđen za objavu. Kako do toga nikad nije došlo, autor ga je odlučio bez preinaka objaviti u časopisu matičnog Odjela za arheologiju Sveučilišta u Zadru.

* This work is an expanded version of the presentation of the same name given at the international scientific conference “Antiquitatis sollemnia antidoron Mate Suić”, Zagreb - Zadar, 3-6 November 2015, and was submitted to the editorial board on time (2017) and scheduled for publication. Since that never happened, the author decided to publish it without changes in the journal of the Department of Archaeology of the University of Zadar.

stubaca, ali i druga važna pitanja u vezi s rekonstrukcijom trijema zadarskog Foruma kao najizglednijeg kandidata za njihov smještaj: dimenzije stupova, visina trijema, pripadnost stupova iz prizemlja i matroneja Sv. Donata.

KEY WORDS:

pillars, railing, Capitulum, portico, attic, basilica, St. Donatus

From the iconographic and functional point of view, pillars with protomes of Jupiter Ammon and Gorgon (Medusa) are the most interesting elements of sculptural decoration of the Forum of Roman-era Iader. Their architectural context has not been unambiguously clarified. Mate Suić, a distinguished researcher of the Forum in Zadar, at first thought that they were standing inside of the front balustrade of the Capitoline temple. Although that is exactly how they are presented today, several details of their modelling refute this theory. It is possible that Suić eventually became aware of them, since later he changed his mind, attributing the pillars to "the upper balustrade" of the Severan basilica. Stylistic, technological and iconographic details, however, do not support such a possibility, as they indicate that the pillars are significantly older. In some texts, Suić's attribution to the basilica is accompanied by drawing documentation that coincidentally shows the pillars inside the gallery of the forum portico, and this is exactly the position in which the pillars from Pula, similar in form and decoration, are placed. The recent discovery of a well-preserved pluteus functioning as railing between the Zadar pillars enabled a more accurate projection of the length of these elements, and thus the distance at which the pillars originally stood. Based on new findings and recent literature, the paper examines the possibilities of architectural contextualization of the Zadar pillars, as well as other important issues related to the reconstruction of the portico of the Zadar's Forum as the most likely candidate for their placement: the dimensions of the pillars, the height of the portico, the affiliation of the pillars from the ground floor and the matroneum of St. Donatus.

U Arheološkom muzeju Zadar i na uređenom dijelu zadarskog Foruma čuvaju se primjerci triju skupina stubaca, tj. pilastara izduženog četvrtastog tijela s pročeljem ukrašenim protomama različitih božanstava i mitoloških bića. Da je riječ o elementima različitih arhitektonskih sklopova, pokazuju njihove dimenzije, izvedba i stilske pojedinosti. U radovima M. Suića i drugih istraživača pridavao im se različiti kontekst, pa ta pitanja ni do danas nisu na zadovoljavajući način razjašnjena.¹

Skupina stubaca kojoj je posvećen ovaj rad uključuje tri primjerka desetljećima izložena na pročelju zadarskog Kapitolija (sl. 1).² Na njihovu pripadnost istom sklopu upućuju podudarne dimenzije, specifična izrada vršnih profila i tijela pravilnih gotovo okomitih rubova, te napose činjenica da im iz tijela sa strana izlaze istaci kojima su se spajali s pripadajućim plutejima. Dva su stubca ukrašena protomama Jupitra-Ammona, a jedan protomom Gorgone, dok im je stanje sačuvanosti manje-više podudarno.³ Budući da su dobro poznati i višekratno objavljeni, u njihov se opis u ovoj prigodi neće ulaziti, a neće se ponavljati ni dobro poznate okolnosti otkrića.⁴

U svojem prvom konkretnijem osvrtu na njih – u radu „Orijentalni kultovi u antičkom Za-

Examples of three groups of pillars, i.e. pilasters with an elongated square body and a front decorated with protomes of various deities and mythological creatures, are preserved in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar and in the landscaped part of the Zadar's Forum. Their dimensions, execution and stylistic details indicate that these are elements of different architectural compositions. In the works of M. Suić and other researchers, they were given different contexts, so these questions have still not been clarified in a satisfying way.¹

The group of pillars presented in this work includes three examples exhibited for decades on the front of the Capitolium in Zadar (Fig. 1).² Their belonging to the same group is indicated by the matching dimensions, the specific design of the top profiles and the bodies with regular, almost vertical edges, and especially the fact that the protrusions come out of their bodies from the sides with which they were connected to the associated plutei. Two pillars are decorated with the protomes of Jupiter-Ammon, and one with the protome of Gorgon, in a similar state of preservation.³ Since they are well known and have been published many times, their description will be omitted on this occasion, and the well-known circumstances of the discovery will not be repeated.⁴

In his first more specific review of these pil-

¹ U ovom radu bit će ostavljeno po strani pitanje stubca inv. br. A22038, koji se dimenzijama, sužavanjem središnjeg dijela od dna prema vrhu i izvedbom protoma na dvjema nasuprotnim stranama jasno razlikuje od ostalih dviju skupina.

² O stubcima su u proteklih šezdesetak godina raspravljali brojni domaći i strani autori: M. Gorenc (1952.), M. Suić (1965., 1976., 1981., 2003.), M. Ch. Budischovsky (1973., 1977.), P. Selem (1980., 1997., 2008., 2013.), A. Bugarski-Mesdžian (1999.), K. A. Giunio (1999., 2002., 2005.), N. Cambi (2002., 2003., 2005.), M. Tomorad (2003., 2005.), P. Casari (2004.), V. Goldbeck (2015.). Zbog ograničenog prostora, u nastavku će se referirati uglavnom na one radove koji se bave pitanjima od krucijalne važnosti za ovu raspravu: stilskom analizom u funkciji kronologije i arhitektonskim kontekstom stubaca.

³ Pregledno o dimenzijama i inv. brojevima stubaca: CASA-RI 2004a: 123 i d., Z1-Z3, tab. 56a-c; GOLDBECK 2015: 136-137, bilj. 1050-1051 i 1053, sl. 236-239 i 241. Visina stubaca je 1,30-1,33 m, širina 0,99-1,03 m, debljina 0,91-1,00 m.

⁴ O tome usp. SUIĆ 1965: 107 i d., bilj. 29; BUDISCHOVSKY 1973: 202-203; A. GIUNIO 1999: 60, bilj. 19.

¹ In this paper, we will leave aside the question of the pillar inv. no. A22038, which is clearly different from the other two groups in its dimensions, the narrowing of the central part from the bottom to the top and the design of the protomes on the two opposite sides.

² Over the past sixty years, numerous domestic and foreign authors have discussed the pillars: M. Gorenc (1952), M. Suić (1965, 1976, 1981, 2003), M. Ch. Budischovsky (1973, 1977), P. Selem (1980, 1997, 2008, 2013), A. Bugarski-Mesdžian (1999.), K. A. Giunio (1999, 2002, 2005), N. Cambi (2002, 2003, 2005), M. Tomorad (2003, 2005), P. Casari (2004), V. Goldbeck (2015). Due to limited space, we will refer mostly to those works that deal with issues of crucial importance for this discussion: stylistic analysis in the function of chronology and the architectural context of the pillars.

³ Overview of dimensions and inv. numbers of pillars: CASARI 2004a: 123 ff., Z1-Z3, tab. 56a-c; GOLDBECK 2015: 136-137, notes. 1050-1051 and 1053, fig. 236-239 and 241. Height of the pillars is 1.30-1.33 m, width 0.99-1.03 m, depth 0.91-1.00 m.

⁴ About this cf. SUIĆ 1965: 107 ff., note 29; BUDISCHOVSKY 1973: 202-203; A. GIUNIO 1999: 60, note 19.



SLIKA 1. Stubci s dijelovima pluteja izloženi na pročelju Kapitolija (foto: D. Maršić)

FIGURE 1 Pillars with parts of plutei displayed on the front of the Capitulum (photo: D. Maršić)

dru“ – M. Suić iznio je mišljenje da su tri stubca stajala unutar ograde (balustrade) postavljene na pročelju Kapitolija, koje je tako moglo služiti kao neka vrsta rostre.⁵ U prilog takvoj tezi govorilo je više argumenata: masivnost, činjenica da se sa stubcima spojilo više komada profilacija podnožja, za koje se ispostavilo da pripadaju ogradi (plutejima) postavljenoj između stubaca, te napose otkriće dijelova profilacije, izvedbom slične onoj sa stubaca i ograde, za koju je pretpostavljeno da je mogla pripadati vrhu zidanog pročelja Kapitolija. Sve navedeno učvrstilo je Suića u uvjerenju da izvoran položaj stubaca potraži na pročelju Kapitolija, a izgled dijela ograde pokuša i grafički rekonstruirati.⁶ Rekonstrukciju je posebno motivirala Suićeva želja da prikaže pretpostavljenu dekoraciju ploča ograde (girlande obješene o bukranije) te način njihova spoja sa stubcima.

⁵ SUIĆ 1965: 108–109, sl. 12–14. To mišljenje prihvaćaju: BUDISCHOVSKY 1973: isto mj., sl. 1; 1977: 178, br. IV, 3–4, tab. XCI, sl. a–c; STARAC 1996: 81. Mišljenju se kao „prihvatljivom“ priklanja i CAMBI 2003a: 53, bilj. 12; 2003b: 102. Usp. i CAMBI 2005: 24 i d., sl. 25–27.

⁶ SUIĆ 1965: 110, sl. 14. Istu rekonstrukciju prenosi CAMBI 2003a: 61, sl. 8.

lars - in the paper “Oriental Cults in Ancient Zadar” - M. Suić expressed the opinion that the three pillars stood inside the railing (balustrade) placed on the front of the Capitulum, which could thus serve as a kind of rostra.⁵ There were several arguments in support of such a thesis: the massiveness, the fact that the pillars were connected to several pieces of base molding, which turned out to belong to the railing (plutei) placed between the pillars, and especially the discovery of parts of the molding, rendered similarly as that of the pillars and the railing, which assumedly could have belonged to the top of the stone-built front of the Capitulum. All of the above strengthened Suić’s belief that he should look for the original position of the pillars on the front of the Capitulum, and try to graphically reconstruct the appearance of part of the railing.⁶ The reconstruction was especially moti-

⁵ SUIĆ 1965: 108–109, fig. 12–14. This opinion is accepted by: BUDISCHOVSKY 1973: *ibid.*, fig. 1; 1977: 178, no. IV, 3–4, tab. XCI, fig. a–c; STARAC 1996: 81. Cambi finds his standpoint „acceptable“: CAMBI 2003a: 53, note 12; 2003b: 102. Cf. also CAMBI 2005: 24 ff., fig. 25–27.

⁶ SUIĆ 1965: 110, fig. 14. The same reconstruction can be found in: CAMBI 2003a: 61, fig. 8.



SLIKA 2. Instalacije na gornjoj plohi krajnjeg južnog stubca (foto: D. Maršić)

FIGURE 2 Installations on the upper surface of the southernmost pillar (photo: D. Maršić)

Desetak godina poslije Suić je u monografiji *Antički grad na istočnom Jadranu* iznio novo mišljenje, po kojem je ipak vjerojatnije da je cijeli sklop stajao unutar galerije severske bazilike, a to je ponovio i u knjizi *Zadar u starom vijeku* i drugom izdanju *Antičkoga grada*.⁷ Na to su ga očito ponukala neka opažanja do kojih je u međuvremenu došao, koja, međutim, ne navodi ni u tom ni u kasnijim publiciranim tekstovima, ali ih naziremo u neobjavljenom rukopisu, o čemu ćemo govoriti nešto poslije. Jedno od njih je ono da su na gornjoj plohi triju stubaca instalacije protivne prvotnoj interpretaciji (sl. 2).⁸ U sre-

vated by Suić's desire to show the supposed decoration of the railing panels (garlands hung on the bucrania) and the way they were connected to the pillars.

Some ten years later, Suić expressed a new opinion in the monograph "Ancient City on the Eastern Adriatic",⁷ according to which it is more likely that the entire complex stood inside the gallery of the Severan basilica, and he repeated this in the book "Zadar in Antiquity" and the second edition of the "Ancient City". He was apparently prompted to do so by some insights he gained in the meantime, which, however, he does not mention in either that or later texts, but we get a glimpse of them in an unpublished manuscript, to which we will re-

⁷ SUIĆ 1976: 162; 1981, 304, tab. XVII; 2003: 252. Suićev prijedlog „aktivno“ prenose A. GIUNIO 1999: 59 i d., sl. 11-13; 2005: 172, sl. 10-12; SELEM 2013: 123, sl. 8-9.

⁸ O njima se gotovo i nije raspravljalo. Od novijih radova, P. Casari ih ne spominje, dok su V. Goldbeck poznate. Usp. bilj. 3.

⁷ SUIĆ 1976: 162; 1981, 304, pl. XVII; 2003: 252. Suić's proposal is "actively" conveyed by A. GIUNIO 1999: 59 ff., fig. 11-13; 2005: 172, fig. 10-12; SELEM 2013: 123, fig. 8-9.

dini im je plohe veći, približno kružni utor, a oko njega do šest manje ili više pravilnih udubljenja postavljenih u paru ili samostalno (nisu svugdje sačuvani), do kojih vode kanali za olovo (kanal vodi i do središnjeg utora). Pomoću njih su se na stubce sidrile četvrtaste baze (plinthe) koje su nešto morale nositi. Na njihovo postojanje navodi činjenica da su kanali za lijevanje olova protegnuti sve do rubova stranica, uz koje su se nalazila četiri jedva vidljiva manja utora (na sl. 2 vidljiva su dva na lijevoj strani, ali slična postoje i na suprotnoj strani). Broj i karakter instalacija uvjetovani su, po svemu sudeći, time što je nepoznati sadržaj nad bazom stajao u okomitom položaju; da je bio posrijedi neki vodoravno položeni element, sigurno ih ne bi bilo u tom broju i bili bi drukčije izrade. Izvedba i raspored utora donekle podsjećaju na instalacije s jednog seta stubaca s protomama Jupitra-Amona i Gorgone iz Pule, za koje G. Fischer – kako ćemo vidjeti – drži da su služili kao plinte za baze i stupove galerije trijema.⁹ „Arhitektonsku kulisu“ formiranu od stubaca (ograde) i stupova (ili drugih okomito postavljenih elemenata) teško je zamisliti na pročelju Kapitolija jer bi direktno zakrivala pogled na hram i druge sadržaje, posebice pri pogledu sa znatno nižeg pločnika Foruma! To ne bi odgovaralo ni funkciji rostre, koja je uobičajeno imala samo nisku (perforiranu) ogradu, a i one najpoznatije u Rimu, na zapadnoj i istočnoj strani glavnog gradskog trga (*Forum Romanum*), stupove su dobile tek kao instalacije za postavljanje kipova neovisne od čeonih ograda.¹⁰

Na stražnjoj strani svih stubaca i pripadajućih pluteja, na točno određenoj udaljenosti (35-40 cm), prisutna je još jedna vrsta instalacija – četvrtasti postranični utori, koji se ne

turn later. One of them is that on the upper surface of the three pillars, the installations are contrary to the original interpretation (Fig. 2).⁸ In the middle of their surface is a larger, approximately circular groove, and around it up to six more or less regular depressions placed in pairs or individually (they are not preserved in all places), reached by lead channels (the channel also leads to the central groove). They were used to anchor square bases (plinths) to the pillars. These plinths had to support something. Their existence is indicated by the fact that the channels for casting lead extended all the way to the edges of the sides, next to which there were four barely visible smaller grooves (in fig. 2, two are visible on the left side, but similar ones also exist on the opposite side). The number and character of the installations are apparently determined by the fact that the unknown content above the base stood in a vertical position; if there was some horizontally placed element in the middle, there would certainly not have been that many installations and they would have been made differently. The execution and arrangement of the grooves somewhat resemble the installations from one set of pillars with the protomes of Jupiter-Ammon and Gorgon from Pula, which G. Fischer – as we shall see – believes served as plinths for the bases and columns of the portico gallery.⁹ It is difficult to imagine an “architectural scenery” formed by pillars (railing) and columns (or other vertically placed elements) on the front of the Capitolium because it would directly obscure the view of the temple and other structures, especially when viewed from the much lower sidewalk of the forum! This would not correspond to the function of the rostra, which usually only had a low (perforated) railing, and even those most famous in Rome, on the west and east sides of the main city square (*Forum Romanum*), had columns only as installations for placing statues

⁹ Usp. FISCHER 1996: 88, sl. 17.

¹⁰ Navedene rostre, istina, nisu sačuvane u stanju koje bi to nedvojbeno potvrđivalo, ali tomu u prilog govore stilizirani prikazi na novcu i suvremene rekonstrukcije: GORSKI, PACKER 2015: 147 i d., sl. 8.1-8.2, 8.9, 8.14, 8.16; KALLAS 2015: 23 i d., sl. 1.1, 1.2. Da balustrada Kapitolija nije izgledno rješenje, smatra i GOLDBECK 2015: 137.

⁸ They were hardly discussed. Of the more recent works, P. Casari does not mention them, while V. Goldbeck knows about them. Cf. note 3.

⁹ Cf. FISCHER 1996: 88, fig. 17.



SLIKA 3. Utori za drvene grede na poleđini stubaca i pluteja (foto: D. Maršić)

FIGURE 3 Grooves for wooden beams on the back of the pillars and plutei (photo: D. Maršić)

moгу drukčije objasniti negoli kao utori za drvene grede (sl. 3).¹¹ Balustrada Kapitolija – koja je zasigurno postojala – takve utore nije trebala, pa njihova prisutnost automatski upućuje na drukčiji kontekst i stubaca i ograde. Ako rješenje pokušamo iznaći u pretpostavci da je riječ o tragovima reutilizacije – za što bi naznake mogao dati podatak da se dva slična (manja) utora pojavljuju i na pročelju stubca s punačijim Jupiterom-Amomom, ali su oni danas zapunjeni komadima kamena¹² – još uvijek opstaje problem vršnih instalacija. One su izvorno rimske i o tome ne može biti rasprave! Nadalje, izrada utora za umetanje drvenih greda slična onoj u Zadru

without any association with the front railings.¹⁰

On the back side of all the pillars and associated plutei, at a precisely determined distance (35-40 cm), there is another type of installation - square lateral grooves, which can only be explained as grooves for wooden beams (Fig. 3).¹¹ The balustrade of the Capitolium - which certainly existed - did not need such grooves, so their presence automatically suggests a different context for both the pillars and the railing. If we try to find a solution assuming that it is a question of traces of

¹¹ Dimenzije utora su: širina 20-20,5 cm, dubina 25-28 cm i duljina 14-16 cm. U svojim studijama ne spominju ih ni Casari ni Goldbeck, usp. bilj. 3.

¹² SUIĆ 1965: 107, sl. 12 (gdje se jasno vide dva manja utora ispod plohe s protomom).

¹⁰ The aforementioned rostrae are not preserved in a condition that would undoubtedly confirm this, but the stylized depictions on the coins and contemporary reconstructions support this thesis. GORSKI, PACKER 2015: 147 ff., fig. 8.1-8.2, 8.9, 8.14, 8.16; KALAS 2015: 23 ff., fig. 1.1, 1.2. The Capitolium balustrade as an unlikely solution is considered also by GOLDBECK 2015: 137.

¹¹ The dimensions of the grooves are: width 20-20.5 cm, depth 25-28 cm and length 14-16 cm. Neither Casari nor Goldbeck mention them in their studies, cf. note 3.



SLIKA 4. *Rekonstrukcija dijela forumskog trijema u Pompejima* (foto: D. Maršić)

FIGURE 4 *Reconstruction of part of the forum portico in Pompeii* (photo: D. Maršić)

registrirana je na nekim drugim elementima arhitekture za koje je sigurna ili pretpostavljena pripadnost trijemu. Susrećemo je npr. na dvostrukoj kolonadi zapadnog trijema foruma u Pompejima (sl. 4), iako tamo utori nisu izrađeni na elementima ograde već na vrhu trapezastih monolita u funkciji grede i friza.¹³ Utori slični onima u Zadru, ali još većih gabarita, uočavaju se i na već spomenutom starijem setu pulskih stubaca, ali o tome u literaturi nije bilo spomena. Na stubcu s protomom Gorgone npr. dva se utora nalaze na spoju (vanjskim uglovima) donje i stražnje strane i sigurno je da ne mogu imati veze sa sidrenjem, već vjerojatno strukturom šetnice (galerije) ili stropa trijema (sl. 5).¹⁴ Utori na

re-use - which could be indicated by the fact that two similar (smaller) grooves appear on the front of the pillar with a somewhat plumper Jupiter Ammon, but today they are filled with pieces of stone¹² – there is still the problem of top installations. They are originally Roman and there can be no discussion about that! Furthermore, making grooves for inserting wooden beams similar to those in Zadar is recorded on some other architectural elements for which it is certain or presumed that they belong to the portico. We can find it, for example, on the double colonnade of the western portico of the Forum in Pompeii (Fig. 4), although the grooves are not made on the elements of the railing but on the top of the trapezoidal monoliths functioning as a beam and

¹³ Tu usporedbu ne treba uzeti doslovno, posebice ne na kronološkoj razini.

¹⁴ Ovom prigodom zahvaljujem kolegici K. Džin, koja mi je prva prenijela informacije o zanimljivoj izradi poledine,

¹² SUIĆ 1965: 107, fig. 12 (where one can clearly see two smaller grooves under the surface with the protome).



SLIKA 5. Stražnja strana stubca s Gorgonom iz Pule (foto: D. Maršić)

FIGURE 5 Back side of the pillar bearing the depiction of Gorgon from Pula (photo: D. Maršić)

zadarskim stubcima i plutejima uglavnom nemaju donju stranicu (kao i na pulskom primjerku), iz čega je vidljivo da su služili samo za uglavljivanje greda, koje su se upirale na elemente na kojima je počivala cijela konstrukcija (korniž?).

U jednom neobjavljenom rukopisu Suić se po pitanju atribucije stubaca također koleba.¹⁵ Najprije ih pripisuje balustradi Kapitolija i datira u drugu građevnu fazu (flavijско doba), da bi se malo poslije ogradio od njihove današnje prezentacije i ustvrdio da je ne treba uzeti kao rekonstrukciju jer su mogli pripadati nekoj drugoj ogradi, npr. onoj s galerije bazilike.¹⁶ Svjestan je da su stubci nešto nosili, no smatra da se ne može kazati „jesu li nosili stupove, kipove ili nešto drugo“.¹⁷ Da

kao i kolegi Ž. Ujčiću, koji je to dodatno potkrijepio usmenom informacijom i fotografijama.

¹⁵ Naslov paginiranog rukopisa je „Kompleks Foruma u Zadru – prilog urbanističkom rješenju središnjeg prostora grada“.

¹⁶ SUIĆ, p. 40 i d.

¹⁷ SUIĆ, p. 42.

frieze.¹³ Grooves similar to those in Zadar, but of even larger dimensions, can also be seen on the already mentioned older set of pillars from Pula, but there was no mention of this in the literature. On the pillar with the Gorgon protome, for example, there are two grooves at the junction (outer corners) of the lower and back sides, and it is certain that they cannot be related to the anchoring, but probably to the structure of the walkway (gallery) or the ceiling of the portico (Fig. 5).¹⁴ The grooves on the Zadar pillars and plutei generally do not have lower side (as well as on the Pula example), which shows that they were only used to wedge the beams, which were supported by the elements on which the entire structure rested (cornice?).

In an unpublished manuscript, Suić also hesitated regarding the attribution of the pillars.¹⁵ First, he attributes them to the balustrade of the Capitulum and dates them to the second construction phase (Flavian era), only to distance himself a little later from their present-day presentation and assert that it should not be taken as a reconstruction because they could have belonged to some other railing, e.g. the one from the gallery of the basilica.¹⁶ He is aware that the pillars supported something, but he believes that it is impossible to say “whether they supported columns, statues or something else”.¹⁷ His inclination towards the solution with columns is suggested by two drawings that show the pillars as their supports on the front of the Capitulum, but he later rightly gave up on that idea. For this reason, it is not advisable to reproduce the drawings. It is also interesting that only from this manuscript we learn how he recognized and understood the im-

¹³ This comparison should not be taken literally, especially regarding chronology.

¹⁴ I would like to thank my colleague K. Džin, who was the first to give me information about the interesting rendering of the back. I also owe a debt of gratitude to my colleague Ž. Ujčić, who further substantiated this with oral information and photographs.

¹⁵ The title of the paginated manuscript is “The Forum Complex in Zadar - contribution to the urban solution of the central area of the city”.

¹⁶ SUIĆ, p. 40 ff.

¹⁷ SUIĆ, p. 42.

je jedno vrijeme naginjao rješenju sa stupovima, pokazuju dva crteža koji stubce prikazuju kao njihove nosače, i to na pročelju Kapitolijske, ali je od te ideje poslije s pravom odustao. Iz tog razloga crteže nije uputno prenositi. Zanimljivo je i to da samo iz ovog rukopisa doznajemo kako je prepoznao i shvatio važnost utora na stražnjoj strani, ali nije bio siguran jesu li izvorni ili sekundarni i kako ih protumačiti.¹⁸

Iako atribucija forumskoj bazilici na prvi pogled sretno razrješuje sve probleme – smještajući stubce na mjesto gdje utori podržavaju grede šetnice galerije – i ta interpretacija nailazi na poteškoće. Datiranje zadarske bazilike u seversko doba relativno je pouzdano na temelju osebnog oblika građevine s dvjema nasuprot postavljenim apsidama i analogija koje potvrđuju popularnost takvog tipa na prijelazu 2. i 3. stoljeća (kao stanovitog nasljedca Trajanove bazilike), međutim, dva od tri naša stubca stilski sigurno ne odgovaraju tom vremenu i znatno su starija (o problemu datacije raspravlja se na kraju priloga).¹⁹ Postoji drugi set sličnih elemenata koji je moguće dosta pouzdano dovesti u vezu s bazilikom i eventualno trijemom do nje. Riječ je o trima stubcima dekoriranim maskama Satira, mladog Dioniza i Gorgone, koji izradom podsjećaju na one iz naslova, jer npr. također imaju istake za pluteje i slične instalacije na gornjim ploham, ali su elegantnije forme i nižih vršnih profila,²⁰ a način izrade očiju s bušenim zjenicama na dvama prvospomenutim primjercima odgovara modi kraja 2. i ranog 3. stoljeća, pa su ih Suić i kasnijih autori povezivali s galerijom (južnog) trijema Foru-

portance of the grooves on the back, but he was not sure whether they were original or secondary and how to interpret them.¹⁸

Although at first sight the attribution to the forum basilica fortunately resolves all the problems – by placing the pillars where the grooves support the beams of the gallery walkway – this interpretation also has weak points. The dating of the Zadar basilica to the Severan period is relatively reliable based on the peculiar shape of the building with two opposite apses and analogies that confirm the popularity of this type at the turn of 3rd century (as a certain legacy of Trajan's basilica), however, two of our three pillars stylistically certainly do not correspond to that time and are significantly older (the problem of dating is discussed at the end of the paper).¹⁹ There is another set of similar elements that can be quite reliably linked to the basilica and possibly the portico next to it. We are referring to three pillars decorated with masks of Satyr, young Dionysus and Gorgon, which in their construction resemble those from the title, because for example they also have protrusions for plutei and similar installations on the upper surfaces, but they are more elegant in form and have lower top profiles,²⁰ and modelling of the eyes with pierced pupils on the two first-mentioned examples corresponds to the fashion of the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries, so they were associated by Suić and later authors with the gallery of the (southern) portico of the forum.²¹

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Cf. e.g. REMA 1959: 515 ff., fig. 674 (Leptis Magna), 517 ff., fig. 678. (Kempten).

²⁰ About dimensions, morphology and inv. numbers of the pillars, most concisely: GOLDBECK 2015: 138, note 1061, fig. 243-245. However, the author interprets Suić's young Dionysus as a Maenad (Fig. 245), and the head from the third pillar (definitely Satyr) as Dionysus (Fig. 243). In my opinion, Suić's identification of Dionysus (Bacchus) is correct, and the third protome depicts Gorgon, possibly a Maenad. It is important to note that two more pillars were embedded into the foundations of St. Donatus.

²¹ SUIĆ 1965: 106, fig. 10-11 (Severan period; Forum gallery portico); 1981: 208-209, Pl. XVI-XVII with reconstruction on p. 207 (Flavian period, Forum gallery portico); A. GIUNIO 1999: 57 ff., fig. 6-7 (ibid); CAMBI 2003a: 57, fig. 6 and 7; 2005: 120 ff., Fig. 173-174 (Severan period, annex of the gallery of the Forum southern portico).

¹⁸ Isto.

¹⁹ Usp. npr. CREMA 1959: 515 i d., sl. 674 (Leptis Magna), 517 i d., sl. 678 (Kempten).

²⁰ O dimenzijama, morfologiji i inv. brojevima stubaca najpreglednije: GOLDBECK 2015: 138, bilj. 1061, sl. 243-245. Autorica, međutim, Suićeva mladog Dioniza tumači kao Menadu (sl. 245), a glavu s trećeg stupca (Satir nije upitan) kao Dioniza (sl. 243). Smatram da je Suićevo prepoznavanje Dioniza (Bakha) ispravno, a da treća protoma prikazuje Gorgonu, eventualno Menadu. Važno je napomenuti da su još dva stubca uzidana u temelje Sv. Donata.

ma.²¹ Na toj skupini stubaca nema utora za grede, što upućuje na drukčija tehnička rješenja konstrukcije kojoj su pripadali. Napadna formativna sličnost dvaju setova stubaca – iz koje proizlaze sve poteškoće njihove funkcionalne i kronološke distinkcije – uvjetovana je vjerojatno činjenicom da je mlađi set izrađen prema starijem s namjerom uklapanja u postojeći arhitektonski i skulpturalni program Foruma.²² Takav pristup forsiran je, izgleda, i kod podizanja unutarnjih trijemova bazilike i pripadajuće trabeacije.

Da bi cijela priča o historijatu izučavanja zadarskih stubaca s prikazima Jupitra-Amona i Gorgone i pitanju njihove funkcije dobila na zamršenosti, pobrinulo se drugo izdanje *Antičkoga grada*, gdje se u raspravi o anastilozu trijema Foruma u Zadru stubci odjednom grafički pojavljuju unutar balustrade njegove galerije (lođe), kao nosači stupova koji su nad njima stajali (sl. 6).²³ Pažljivo iščitavanje, međutim, pokazuje da Suić u tekstu ne odstupa od ranijeg stava da oni pripadaju bazilici. Kako je do toga došlo, razriješeno je na skupu u komentaru na ovaj referat, a pokazalo se da je sve rezultat greške u označavanju dokumentacije (crtež je trebao biti označen kao anastiloz trijema bazilike!).²⁴ Razlog zbog kojeg sam se o svečarskoj 100. obljetnici rođenja M. Suića i skupa njemu u čast prihvatio upravo ove teme jest taj što me je spomenuti prikaz još odavno zaintrigirao, a nakon toga motivirao na istraživanje čije ću

There are no grooves for beams on that group of pillars, which indicates different technical solutions of the construction they belonged to. The striking formative similarity of the two sets of pillars – from which arise all the difficulties of their functional and chronological distinction – is probably conditioned by the fact that the younger set was modelled after the older one with the intention of fitting into the existing architectural and sculptural program of the forum.²² Such an approach seems to have been applied when building the internal porticoes of the basilica and the associated entablature.

The second edition of the “Ancient City” further complicated the whole story about the history of the study of the Zadar pillars with depictions of Jupiter Ammon and Gorgon, where in the discussion about the anastylosis of the forum portico in Zadar, the pillars suddenly appear graphically inside the balustrade of its gallery (loggia), as supports of columns that stood above them (Fig. 6).²³ A careful reading, however, shows that Suić in the text does not deviate from the earlier position that they belong to the basilica. How this happened was resolved at the conference in the comments to this report, and it turned out that everything was the result of a mistake in marking the documentation (the drawing should have been marked as an anastylosis of the basilica portico!).²⁴ The reason why I chose this topic for the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the birth of M. Suić and the conference in his honor is that the aforementioned display started intriguing me a long time ago, and then motivated me to investigate the matter more thoroughly. The results of this research will be briefly presented below.

²¹ SUIĆ 1965: 106, sl. 10-11 (seversko doba; galerija trijema Foruma); 1981: 208–209, tab. XVI-XVII s rekonstrukcijom na str. 207 (flavijsko doba, galerija trijema Foruma); A. GIUNIO 1999: 57 i d., sl. 6-7 (isto); CAMBI 2003a: 57, sl. 6 i 7; 2005: 120 i d., sl. 173-174 (seversko doba, dogradnja galerije južnog trijema Foruma).

²² Tu mogućnost s pravom naslućuje CAMBI 2002: 89–90; 2005: 121 (gdje autor govori o stanovitoj morfološkoj i ikonografskoj vezi). Vezu prepoznaje i VERZÁR BASS 2006: 113 i d., sl. 7-8, koja govori o „arhitektonskom programu od kojega poznajemo dvije faze”: julijsko-klaudijsku (nakon velikog ilirskog ustanka) i onu s kraja 2. i početka 3. st. (nakon markomanskog rata).

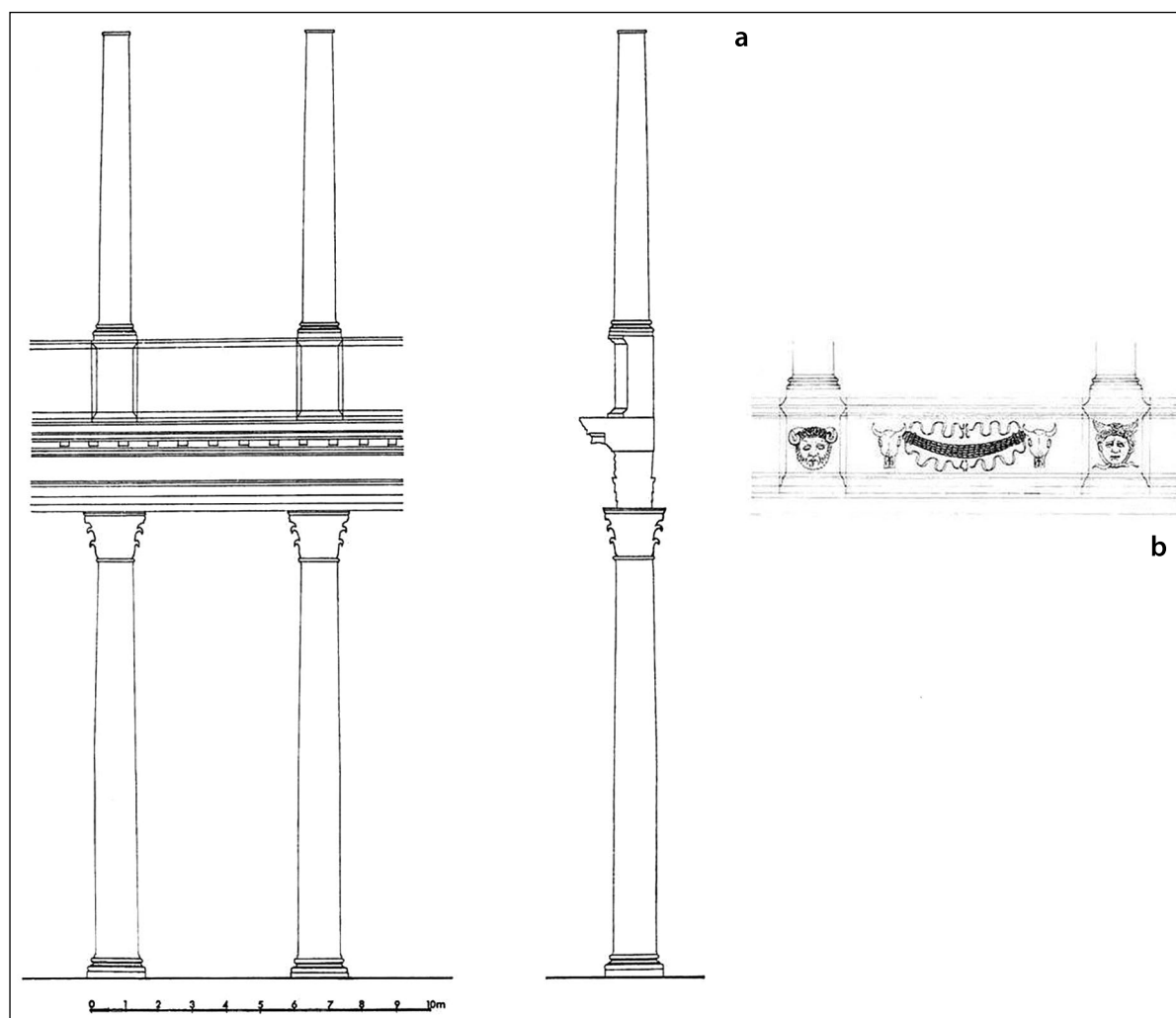
²³ SUIĆ 2003: 293, sl. 145b na str. 296.

²⁴ O tome je na skupu okupljenima govorila B. Kuntić-Makvić.

²² This possibility is rightly foreseen by CAMBI 2002: 89-90; 2005: 121 (where the author mentions a certain morphological and iconographic connection). The connection is also recognized by VERZÁR BASS 2006: 113 ff., fig. 7-8, who speaks of an “architectural program of which we know two phases”: Julio-Claudian (after the Great Illyrian Revolt) and that of the end of the 2nd and beginning of the 3rd century (after the Marcomannic Wars).

²³ SUIĆ 2003: 293, fig. 145b on p. 296.

²⁴ B. Kuntić-Makvić spoke about this at the conference.



SLIKA 6. Stubci s plutejima slučajno prikazani unutar galerije forumskog trijema (prema: Suić 2003)

FIGURE 6 Pillars with plutei accidentally displayed inside the gallery of the forum portico (according to Suić 2003)

rezultate u nastavku ukratko izložiti.

Dobro je poznato da su zadarski stubci samo jedan od blizu desetak manje-više sigurno potvrđenih primjera uporabe takvih elemenata na području sjevernog Jadrana i njegova bližeg zaleđa. Stubci identične ikonografije otkriveni su u Oderzu (*Opitergium*), Konkordiji Sagitariji (*Iulia Concordia*), Akvileji, Trstu (*Tergeste*), Puli (*Pola*), Celju (*Celeia*), a postoje indicije da su postojali i u Aseriji i Saloni, ali su zagubljeni.²⁵ Za potrebe

It is well known that the pillars from Zadar are only one of nearly a dozen more or less certainly confirmed examples of the use of such elements in the area of the northern Adriatic and its immediate hinterland. Pillars with identical iconography were discovered in Oderz (*Opitergium*), Concordia Sagitaria (*Iulia Concordia*), Aquileia, Trieste (*Tergeste*), Pula (*Pola*), Celje (*Celeia*), and there are indications that they also existed in Asseria and Salona, but they were lost.²⁵ For the purposes of this paper, due to lim-

²⁵ Pregledno: CASARI 2004a: 45 i d., tab. 12 i d. (*Aquileia*), 78 i d., tab. 36b (*Opitergium*), 83 i d., tab. 37b-c (*Iulia Concordia*), 87 i d., tab. 38b-40b (*Tergeste*), 110 i d., tab. 49-53b (*Pola*), 129 i d., bilj. 522 (*Asseria*), 131, bilj. 528 (*Salona*), 132 i d., tab. 60a-62b (*Celeia*). Jednako dobar pregled daje i GOLDBECK 2015: *passim*, koja donosi i primjere iz zapadnog dijela Carstva, gdje se predmetne protome češće

²⁵ Overview: CASARI 2004a: 45 ff., pl. 12 ff. (*Aquileia*), 78 ff., pl. 36b (*Opitergium*), 83 ff., pl. 37b-c (*Iulia Concordia*), 87 ff., pl. 38b-40b (*Tergeste*), 110 ff., pl. 49-53b (*Pola*), 129 ff., note 522 (*Asseria*), 131, note 528 (*Salona*), 132 ff., pl. 60a-62b (*Celeia*). Equally good overview is provided by GOLDBECK 2015: *passim*, who also presents examples from the western part of the Empire, where mentioned

ovog rada, zbog ograničenog prostora, osvrnut ću se samo na potencijalno usporedive primjerke iz Akvileje i Pule.

S Foruma Akvileje potječe čak 14 stubaca sličnih morfoloških obilježja, sedam s glavama Jupitra-Ammona i sedam s glavama Gorgone, od kojih je njih šest otkriveno unutar istočnog trijema na približno istoj udaljenosti, vjerojatno na mjestu pada, sugerirajući time da su položajem podudarni stupovima, da bi naknadno tri bila otkrivena i na zapadnoj strani.²⁶ Ikonografijom, tehnikom izrade i stilskim pojedinostima upućuju na različita razdoblja i rad većeg broja majstora. Viši su od zadarskih stubaca (ukupna im je vis. 1,46-1,49 m), ali su širinom i debljinom za 10-ak cm kraći. Susjedni nalazi elemenata korniča te friza i arhitrava iz jednog komada odredili su anastilozu u kojoj im je (s pripadajućim plutejima) mjesto određeno u sklopu atike trijema, a sve zbog činjenice da nisu otkriveni ostatci „gornjeg“ reda te da nema tragova za sidrenje takvih elemenata.²⁷ Isprva datirani od kraja 2. do početka 3. stoljeća, ili u prvu polovicu 2. stoljeća, stubce je u novije vrijeme kronološki znatno resistematizirao Paolo Casari, koji smatra da najstariji stubci datiraju iz sredine 1. stoljeća (iz otprilike Klaudijeva doba) i pripadaju zapadnom trijemu (kakav je možda bio izgrađen i na ostalim dvjema stranama), dok su mlađi iz faze obnove istočnog trijema s kraja antoninskog razdoblja.²⁸ Stariji su stubci oni bez izrađenih detalja očiju, a mlađi s njima, u više izvedbi. Dvije faze potvrđuje po Casariju i različita izvedba kompozitnih kapitela te drugih dijelova arhitektonske plastike.

ited space, I will refer only to potentially comparable specimens from Aquileia and Pula.

As many as fourteen pillars with similar morphological features originate from the Forum in Aquileia, seven with the heads of Jupiter-Ammon and seven with the heads of Gorgon, of which six were discovered inside the eastern portico at approximately the same distance, probably exactly where they fell, thus suggesting that their position coincides with the columns. Subsequently three more were also discovered on the western side.²⁶ Their iconography, production technique and stylistic details suggest different periods and work of a large number of stonemasons. They are higher than the Zadar pillars (their total height is 1.46-1.49 m), but they are about 10 cm shorter in width and depth. Adjacent finds of elements of the cornice and the frieze and architrave from one piece determined the anastylosis in which their place (with the associated plutei) was determined within the attic of the portico, all due to the fact that no remains of the “upper” row were discovered and that there are no traces of anchoring of such elements.²⁷ Originally dated from the late 2nd to the early 3rd century, or the first half of the 2nd century, the pillars have recently been significantly resystematized in terms of chronology by Paolo Casari, who believes that the oldest pillars date to the middle of the 1st century (roughly Claudius’ era) and belong to the western portico (as it may have been built on the other two sides), while the younger ones are from the reconstruction phase of the eastern portico from the end of the Antonine period.²⁸ The older pillars are the ones without eye details, and the younger ones with them, in several designs. According to Casari, the two phases are also con-

pojavljuju u formi *imagines clipeatae*.

²⁶ Usp. BERTACCHI 1989: 59 i d., sl. 8-13 (otkriće šest stubaca istočnog trijema); CASARI 2004a: 45 i d., A1-14, tab. 12-22; 2004b: 236 i d., sl. 15-27 (ažurirani popis stubaca).

²⁷ BERTACCHI 1989: 70, tab. III; CASARI 2004b: 219, sl. 1. Prva autorica ipak zaključuje da su stubci s plutejima bili dovoljno visoki da eventualno formiraju jedan parapet (balustradu).

²⁸ CASARI 2004a: 51 i d., osobito 67 i d., 77; 2004b: 219 i d., osobito 236 i d., 249.

protomes often occur in the form of *imagines clipeatae*.

²⁶ Cf. BERTACCHI 1989: 59 ff., fig. 8-13 (discovery of six pillars of the eastern portico); CASARI 2004a: 45 ff., A1-14, pl. 12-22; 2004b: 236 ff., fig. 15-27 (updated list of pillars).

²⁷ BERTACCHI 1989: 70, pl. III; CASARI 2004b: 219, fig. 1. The first author nevertheless concludes that the pillars with plutei were high enough to possibly form a parapet (balustrade).

²⁸ CASARI 2004a: 51 ff., particularly 67 ff., 77; 2004b: 219 ff., particularly 236 ff., 249.

U Puli su otkrivena dva seta od po tri stubca, od kojih se prvi datira možda već u kasnije Augustovo ili Tiberijevo doba, a svakako julijsko-klaudijско razdoblje (pripada mu prije spomenuti stubac s Gorgonom; sl. 5) i povezuje s dvama plutejima na kojima su orlovi koji u kljunovima drže girlande odnosno Tritoni, dok je drugi prema modelaciji i stilskim pojedinostima očito nešto kasniji (antoninsko ili seversko doba) i bez pripadajućih pluteja.²⁹ Zanimljivo je da stariji stubci općom morfologijom, nepostojanjem okomite profilacije na bočnim istacima, utorima na poledini te ukupnim gabaritima jako podsjećaju na zadarske, ali su nešto manji (visina im je 1,17 m, širina 0,80 m, a debljina 0,85 m) i stražnja im je strana nedoradena. Fischer ih je nakon iscrpne analize prepoznao kao plinte stupova i nosače ograde gornje etaže forumskog trijema (sl. 7), ostavivši otvorenom mogućnost da su pripadali i nekoj drugoj Forumu susjednoj zgradi.³⁰ U tome su ga razmišljanju slijedili Casari i Goldbeck.³¹ V. Girardi-Jurkić sa suradnicima protumačila ih je naprotiv kao dijelove ograde nekog žrtvenika podignutog Jupitru-Amonu.³² Iz izrade stražnje strane stubaca – primjerice onoga s Gorgonom (sl. 5) – proizlazi da s te strane nisu bili izloženi pogledu (!), zbog čega je Goldbeck opravdano postavila tezu da je gornji kat trijema možda

firmed by different rendering of the composite capitals and other parts of architectural sculpture.

Two sets of three pillars each were found in Pula, the first of which dates back perhaps to the later era of Augustus or Tiberius, and certainly to the Julio-Claudian period (the previously mentioned pillar with Gorgon belongs to it; Fig. 5) and it connects to two plutei with eagles holding garlands in their beaks, or Tritons, while the other, according to the modelling and stylistic details, is obviously somewhat later (Antonine or Severan era) and without the associated plutei.²⁹ It is interesting that the general morphology of the older pillars, the absence of vertical molding on the side protrusions, the grooves on the back and the overall dimensions strongly resemble the pillars from Zadar, but they are slightly smaller (their height is 1.17 m, width 0.80 m, and depth 0.85 m) and their back side is unfinished. After an exhaustive analysis, Fischer recognized them as column plinths and railing supports of the upper floor of the forum portico (Fig. 7), leaving open the possibility that they belonged to another building adjacent to the forum.³⁰ Casari and Goldbeck supported this line of reasoning.³¹ On the contrary, V. Girardi-Jurkić and her colleagues interpreted them as parts of the railing of an altar erected to Jupiter Ammon.³² The modelling of the back side of the

²⁹ Pregledno s datacijom: FISCHER 1996: 88 i d., br. 3a-d, tab. 27 (stariji stubci), 3e-f, tab. 28a-b (pripadajući pluteji), tab. 28c-e (mlađi stubci). Usp. i STARAC 1996: 81 i d., br. 1-4 i 8 (stariji stubci i pluteji), br. 5-7, 9 i d. (mlađi stubci), koja također pretpostavlja znatnu kronološku distanciju; GIRARDI-JURKIĆ, DŽIN, URANIĆ 2001: 8 i d., sa sl. (dva stubca starijeg seta), 9 i d. sa sl. (tri stubca mlađeg seta); A. GIUNIO 2002: 62, tab. 15, sl. 4, tab. 16, sl. 1-4.

³⁰ FISCHER 1996: 88 i d., sl. 18. Visinu pripadajućih stupova autor procjenjuje na 3,5 m, promjer im je oko 0,60 m (sl. 17), što zajedno s vis. stubaca od 1,17 m i trabeacijom rezultira ukupnom visinom 5,5-6 m. Dužina pluteja između stubaca iznosi oko 2,20 m. Plinta stupova prizemne etaže mjeri 0,90 x 0,90 m, stablo je u dnu promjera 0,65 m, a visina je procijenjena na 6-7 m. Ukupna visina trijema penje se po Fischeru na više od 10 m.

³¹ CASARI 2004a: 115 i d.; GOLDBECK 2015: 131, sl. 216.

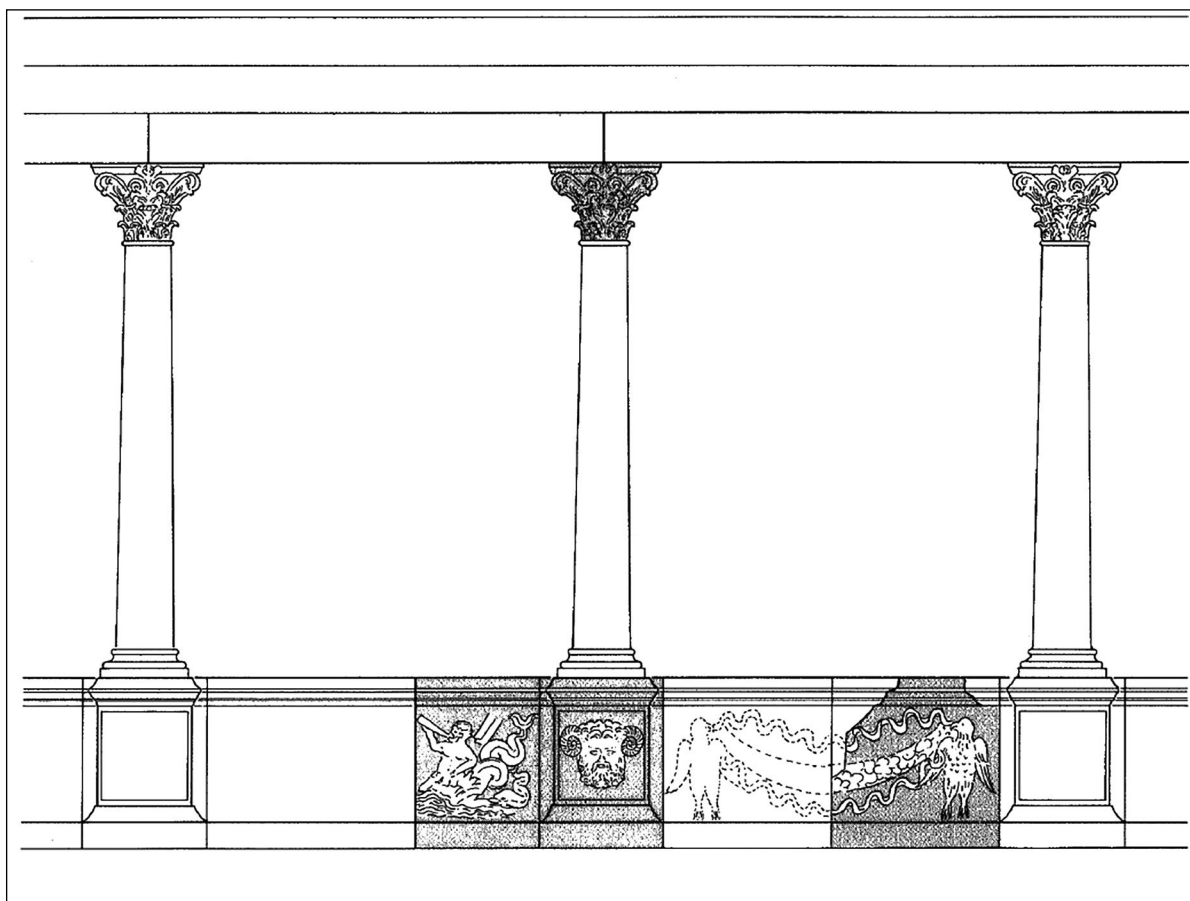
³² GIRARDI-JURKIĆ, DŽIN, URANIĆ 2001: 8 i d., sl. na str. 8.

²⁹ Overview with dating: FISCHER 1996: 88 ff., no. 3a-d, pl. 27 (older pillars), 3e-f, tab. 28a-b (associated plutei), pl. 28c-e (younger pillars). Cf. and STARAC 1996: 81 ff., no. 1-4 and 8 (older pillars and plutei), no. 5-7, 9 ff. (younger pillars), who also assumes a significant chronological gap; GIRARDI-JURKIĆ, DŽIN, URANIĆ 2001: 8 ff., with fig. (two pillars from the older set), 9 ff. with fig. (three pillars from the younger set); A. GIUNIO 2002: 62, tab. 15, fig. 4, tab. 16, fig. 1-4.

³⁰ FISCHER 1996: 88 ff., fig. 18. The author estimates the height of the corresponding columns to be 3.5 m, their diameter is about 0.60 m (fig. 17), which together with the height of pillars of 1.17 m and entablature results in a total height of 5.5-6 m. The length of the pluteus between the columns is about 2.20 m. The plinth of the columns of the ground floor measures 0.90 x 0.90 m, the shaft at the bottom has a diameter of 0.65 m, and the height is estimated at 6-7 m. The total height of the portico rises to over 10 m according to Fischer.

³¹ CASARI 2004a: 115 ff.; GOLDBECK 2015: 131, fig. 216.

³² GIRARDI-JURKIĆ, DŽIN, URANIĆ 2001: 8 ff., fig. on p. 8.



SLIKA 7. Rekonstrukcija galerije forumskog trijema u Puli (prema Fischer 1996)

FIGURE 7 Reconstruction of the forum portico gallery in Pula (after Fischer 1996)

od početka bio zamišljen kao neprohodan.³³ U prilog postojanju gornjeg kata idu i ovdje prepoznati utori za grede, iako nije moguće precizirati jesu li nosili grede šetnice ili stropa.

Iz ovih dvaju izdvojenih primjera vidljivo je da interpretacija izvornog konteksta stubaca usporedivih zadarskima počiva na formativno-tehnološkim razlozima, prije svega prisutnosti instalacija na gornjoj strani, načinu izrade poledine, ali i drugim pojedinostima. Odatle i proizlazi različito smještanje stubaca u Akvileji i Puli. Potvrda da su neki stubci bez sumnje stajali unutar galerije forumskog trijema dva su krnje očuvana primjerka iz Julije Konkordije, kojima je na gornjoj plohi (u jednom komadu sa stubcem) izrađen *torus* stabla stupa (promjera 0,51 m) koji je tu sta-

pillars - for example, the one with the Gorgon (Fig. 5) - suggests that they were not exposed to view from that side (!), which is why Goldbeck proposed the thesis that the upper floor of the portico may have been intended as impassable from the beginning.³³ The existence of the upper floor is supported by the grooves for the beams recognized here, although it is not possible to specify whether they carried the beams of the walkway or the ceiling.

From these two isolated examples, it is evident that the interpretation of the original context of pillars comparable to the ones in Zadar rests on formative-technological reasons, primarily the presence of installations on the upper side, the way the back side was made, but also other details. This is the reason for the different placement of the pillars in Aquileia and Pula. Con-

³³ GOLDBECK 2015: 131.

³³ GOLDBECK 2015: 131.

jao.³⁴ Zadarski se stubci morfološkim obilježjima jasno dadu usporediti i s akvilejskima i s pulskima. Od prvih su nešto niži, ali širi i dublji, od drugih nešto veći po svim parametrima. S pulskima ih povezuje i prisutnost stražnjih utora. Stoga je logično pomišljati da su mogli i stajati u sličnom kontekstu. Međutim, jedino je njima stražnja strana potpuno izrađena, kao i prednjica, što bi sugeriralo da je bila vidljiva. Znajući za taj detalj, Casari ih je uvjetno pripisao parapetu ograde ili atici, a Goldbeck galeriji trijema foruma ili bazilike.³⁵

Osnovni razlog zbog kojeg Suić stubce nije nikada povezao s balustradom galerije forumskog trijema zasigurno je njihova masivnost. Širinom od oko 1 m *ad hoc* upućuju na nemogućnost takvog smještaja, a posebno je problematična tek nešto manja debljina. Ipak, kada im se od ukupne širine pročelja oduzmu istaci za spajanje s plutejima, širina im se svede na 0,70 do 0,77 m (to odatle što postoje odstupanja između primjeraka) ili gotovo za jednu trećinu. Zašto je taj detalj od iznimne važnosti? Jer je sačuvano i dokumentirano najmanje devet baza (postolja) stupova forumskog trijema izrađenih od bijelog vapnenca, te da bi stubci eventualno mogli stajati u osi stupova i kapitela, a povrh trabeacije, po logici stvari ne smiju ih prelaziti širinom tog dijela. Od posebne je važnosti činjenica da je Suić u jugoistočnom uglu trijema pronašao dva izvorna ležišta za baze, tj. neku vrstu njihovih negativa.³⁶ Spomenutih devet baza dimenzijama besprijekorno odgovaraju tim ležištima. Dva izvorna ležišta danas su prezentirana nepokrivena (sl. 8), a ostala su rekonstruirana i nad njima je mjestimice napravljena rekompozicija nekoliko baza i stupova (sl. 9). Stranice izvornih leži-

firmation that some pillars undoubtedly stood inside the gallery of the forum portico are two partially preserved specimens from Julia Concordia, on whose upper surface was a *torus* of the column shaft (diameter 0.51 m) that stood there, made in one piece with the pillar.³⁴ Morphological features of the pillars from Zadar can clearly be compared with those from Aquileia and Pula. They are slightly lower than the former, but wider and deeper, and slightly larger than the latter in all parameters. The presence of rear grooves also connects them with the Pula specimens. Therefore, it is logical to think that they could have stood in a similar context. However, they are the only ones whose back side is completely finished, as well as the front, which would suggest that it was visible. Knowing about this detail, Casari tentatively attributed them to the parapet of the railing or the attic, and Goldbeck to the gallery of the portico of the forum or basilica.³⁵

The main reason why Suić never connected the pillars with the gallery balustrade of the forum portico is surely their massiveness. With a width of about 1 m, they *ad hoc* point to the impossibility of such placement, and only slightly smaller depth is particularly confusing. Nevertheless, when the protrusions for connecting to the plutei are subtracted from the total width of the facade, their width is reduced to 0.70 - 0.77 m (since there are deviations between the examples) or almost by one third. Why is this detail so important? Because at least nine bases of columns of the forum portico made of white limestone have been preserved and documented, and if the pillars could possibly stand in the axis of the columns and capitals, and on top of the entablature, logically they should not exceed the width of that part. Of particular importance is the fact that Suić found two original beds for

³⁴ Pregledno: CASARI 2004a: 83 i d., IC.1-2, tab. 37b-c (gdje autor iznosi dosadašnje prijedloge datacije od Augustova doba do 2. st. i donosi argumente za dataciju u sredinu 1. st.); GOLDBECK 2015: 126 i d., sl. 203-206 (s prijedlogom datacije u 2. st.).

³⁵ CASARI 2004a: 127; GOLDBECK 2015: 137. Usp. i bilj. 10.

³⁶ SUIĆ 1981: sl. na str. 215.

³⁴ Overview: CASARI 2004a: 83 ff., IC.1-2, pl. 37b-c (where the author presents previous dating proposals from the age of Augustus to the 2nd century and provides arguments for dating to the middle of the 1st century); GOLDBECK 2015: 126 ff., Fig. 203-206 (with proposed dating to the 2nd century).

³⁵ CASARI 2004a: 127; GOLDBECK 2015: 137. Cf. Also note 10.



SLIKA 8. *Ležišta baza stupova na jugoistočnoj strani forumskog trijema (foto: D. Maršić)*

FIGURE 8 *Beds of column bases on the southeastern side of the forum portico (photo: D. Maršić)*



SLIKA 9. *Baze i stupovi rekonstruirane jugoistočne strane forumskog trijema (foto: D. Maršić)*

FIGURE 9 *Bases and columns of the reconstructed southeastern side of the forum portico (photo: D. Maršić)*

bases, i.e. some kind of negatives, in the south-eastern corner of the portico.³⁶ The dimensions of the mentioned nine bases correspond perfectly to these beds. Today, two of the original beds are presented uncovered (Fig. 8), while the others have been reconstructed and several bases and columns have been recomposed over them in places (Fig. 9). The sides of the original beds and bases are 0.82-0.84 m long, and the reconstructions were made in this size. Therefore, the pillars in question are more than ten centimeters narrower than the bases in the width of their central part. The size of the lower surface of the pillars does not match the beds.

It has already been discussed how Suić offered the reconstruction of the motifs shown on the plutei, but he only had a modest fragment of the central field at his disposal for this attempt.³⁷ He reconstructed it as a hanging garland hung on ox heads (bucrania), in such a way that the horns of the skulls passed to the protrusions of the pillars. However, in the research led by K. A. Giunio at the Zadar's Forum in 2006 and 2007, a new, largest piece of pluteus discovered so far was found, which clearly belongs to a structure with pillars.³⁸ In terms of iconography and style, it is clearly different from the pluteus bearing a depiction of putti holding a hanging garland,³⁹ and which is clearly related by dimensions (height) to the second (younger) set of pillars.⁴⁰ The newly discovered piece of pluteus has a preserved length of 1.18 m, while its thickness and height are complete and measure 0.195 and 0.74 m. The upper and right sides are finely smoothed and in their original state. On the upper surface, there are two depressions for secur-

³⁶ SUIĆ 1981: fig. on p. 215.

³⁷ Cf. note. 6. Suić also believed that plutei could possibly be made in two parts, with a length twice the height of the railing (i.e. about 2.60 m).

³⁸ Oral communication with my colleague Kornelija A. Giunio, whom I thank for the opportunity to publish the fragment.

³⁹ SUIĆ 1981: 208-209, fig. on p. 207 (drawing); CAMBI 2003a: 57, fig. 9 (original fragment); GOLDBECK 2015: 138, Fig. 242 (pluteus after the discovery of the left edge in 2006).

⁴⁰ Cf. note 20-21.

šta i baza duljine su 0,82-0,84 m, a u toj su veličini napravljene i rekonstrukcije. Dakle, predmetni stubci širinom svojeg središnjeg dijela za više su od desetak centimetara uži od baza. Veličinom donje plohe stubci inače nikako ne odgovaraju ležištima.

Već je bilo riječi o tome kako je Suić ponudio rekonstrukciju motiva prikazanog na plutejima, ali je za taj pokušaj raspolagao samo skromnim fragmentom središnjeg polja.³⁷ Rekonstruirao ga je kao lučnu girlandu obješenu o volovske glave (bukranije), i to na način da su rogovi lubanja prelazili na istake stubaca. Međutim, u istraživanju koje je na zadarskom Forumu 2006. i 2007. godine vodila K. A. Giunio pronađen je novi, najveći do sada otkriveni komad pluteja, za koji je sasvim jasno da pripada konstrukciji sa stubcima.³⁸ On se ikonografski i stilski jasno razlikuje od pluteja na kojem su prikazani eroti kao nosači lučno obješene girlande,³⁹ a koji se dimenzijama (visinom) jasno povezuje s drugim (mlađim) setom stubaca.⁴⁰ Novo-otkriveni komad pluteja sačuvane je duljine 1,18 m, dok su mu debljina i visina potpuni i iznose 0,195 i 0,74 m. Gornja i desna bočna strana fino su zaravnjene i u izvornom stanju. Na gornjoj su plohi dva udubljenja za učvršćivanje nešto nižeg nastavka (oblika gredice) na kojem su bili izrađeni profili identični onima na vrhu stubaca. Prednju stranu zauzima prikaz obješene (lučne) girlande s voćnim plodovima, šišarkama, te manžetnom na desnom kraju, iz koje se gore i dolje izvijaju ukrasne vrpce. Kraj girlande naglo se prekida na desnom rubu, a pomni pogled na stubce otkriva koji je tomu razlog. On se krije u činjenici da na istacima stubaca nisu prisutni

ing a slightly lower extension on which profiles identical to those on the top of the pillars were made. The front side is occupied by a hanging (arched) garland with fruits, pine cones, and a cuff at the right end, from which decorative ribbons twist up and down. The end of the garland breaks off abruptly at the right edge, and a close look at the pillars reveals the reason therein: there are no skull horns on the protrusions of the pillars (which are not even pointed) but garland ends.⁴¹ In other words, the entire railing was designed so that the protomes of Jupiter-Ammon and Gorgon depicted on the pillars were conceived as carriers of garlands strung on plutei (Fig. 10). Such a solution refutes the possibility that two plutei stood between the pillars.

Since the center of the garland is clearly visible on the new pluteus, and even more importantly, its slope is visible, it is relatively easy to determine the approximate length of the pluteus. Assuming that the two arms of the garland were symmetrical, which is unlikely, the projected length of the pluteus would be at least 1.65 m. Although the position of the upper *taenia*, whose outer arm significantly exceeds the middle of the garland, at first glance suggests that the length could have been significantly greater, by mirror determination of the angular slope of the left side of the garland, the length of the pluteus is even slightly shorter and comes to about 1.60 m. Of course, there is the possibility of deflection, but it should not be greater than about 10 cm. The accuracy of the calculation is also confirmed by previously known fragment, which Suić incorporated into the reconstruction of the railing. Putting it in the same scale and overlapping it with the newly discovered pluteus, it shows the length of the right half of 0.81-0.82 m, i.e. 1.60-1.65 m for the entire pluteus. The length of the pluteus is important because by hypothetical connecting with the pillars, we are able to calculate at what distance the latter stood.

According to Suić, the width of the inter-

³⁷ Usp. bilj. 6. Suić je smatrao i da bi pluteji eventualno mogli biti dvodijelne izrade, duljine dvostruko veće od visine ograde (tj. oko 2,60 m).

³⁸ Usmeno priopćenje kolegice Kornelije A. Giunio kojoj zahvaljujem na mogućnosti da objavim fragment.

³⁹ SUIĆ 1981: 208–209, sl. na str. 207 (crtež); CAMBI 2003a: 57, sl. 9 (izvoran fragment); GOLDBECK 2015: 138, sl. 242 (plutej nakon otkrića lijevog ruba 2006. god.).

⁴⁰ Usp. bilj. 20–21.

⁴¹ Garland ends as a possible solution were mentioned by GOLDBECK 2015: 137.

rogovi lubanja (koji uzgred nisu ni zašiljeni) već krajevi girlandi.⁴¹ Drugim riječima, čitava je ograda koncipirana tako da su na stubcima prikazane protome Jupitra-Amona i Gorgone zamišljene kao nosači girlandi raspetih na plutejima (sl. 10). Takvo rješenje negira mogućnost da su između stubaca stajala po dva pluteja.

Budući da se na novom pluteju jasno raspoznaje sredina girlande, a još je važnije da je vidljiv njezin nagib, relativno je lako odrediti okvirnu duljinu pluteja. Pod pretpostavkom da su dva kraka girlande bila simetrična, što je ipak malo vjerojatno, projicirana duljina pluteja iznosila bi minimalno 1,65 m. Iako položaj gornje tenije, čiji vanjski krak znatno prelazi sredinu girlande u prvi mah upućuje na to da je duljina mogla biti znatno veća, zrcalnim određivanjem kutnog nagiba lijeve strane girlande duljina pluteja pokazuje se čak i nešto kraća te iznosi oko 1,60 m. Dakako da valja ostaviti mogućnost otklona, no on ne bi trebao biti veći od 10-ak cm. Točnost izračuna potvrđuje i otprije poznati fragment, koji je Suić ugradio u rekonstrukciju ograde. Stavivši ga u isto mjerilo i preklapivši s novootkrivenim plutejom, on pokazuje duljinu desne polovice 0,81-0,82 m, odnosno čitavog pluteja 1,60-1,65 m. Duljina je pluteja bitna jer smo fiktivnim spajanjem sa stubcima u mogućnosti izračunati na kojoj su udaljenosti potonji stajali.

Prema Suiću širina interkolumni forumskog trijema iznosila je nešto više od 3 m,⁴² no uzimanje dimenzija *in situ* na već spomenutom jugoistočnom uglu Foruma pokazuje da udaljenost dviju originalnih baza iznosi 2,13 m, a one koje su rekonstruirane udaljene su do 2,15 m.⁴³ Ako stubce s protomama

columniation of the forum portico was slightly over 3 m,⁴² but measuring the dimensions *in situ* at the already mentioned southeastern corner of the forum shows that the distance between the two original bases is 2.13 m, and those that have been reconstructed are up to 2.15 m apart.⁴³ If we imagine pillars with protomes exactly in the axis of the bases (e.g. inside the gallery), they cross the sides of the bases into the intercolumnar spaces by 16 to 20 cm, i.e. half of that length on each side, out of their total width of 1.0-1.02 m. It is not possible to obtain a more precise measure with any method, because neither the bases nor the pillars (and protrusions) have matching dimensions. If we add to this the assumed length of the plutei, we get a total length of maximum of 1.85 m, which means that we still lack 0.30 m. From the calculation, it is possible to conclude that the pillars and the railing could not have stood inside the southeastern portico of the forum, neither inside the gallery nor in the attic. After all, the finishing of the back side speaks against placement inside the attic! However, we cannot automatically apply the obtained result to the northern or southern portico because there are no unambiguous indicators.⁴⁴ We have no information about the

⁴² SUIĆ 1981: 208 (3,10 m). Elsewhere, Suić states that it is 3.15 m or 3.20 m.

⁴³ Cf. note 36. When the distance of the bases is compared with the diameter of the columns of the portico, the conclusion is reached that the intercolumniation was made in a standard between diastyle and araeostyle (about 3.40 of the column diameter), which according to Vitruvius still allowed the use of stone architraves. The length of the architrave that stood on top of the capitals is easy to calculate because it corresponds to the sum of the distance of the beds and their two halves ($2.13 + 2 \times 0.415$ m), i.e. it is about 2.95 m. An architrave with a frieze (monolith) of this length was embedded in one of the pylons of St. Donatus, which is another proof of its association with the portico: MARŠIĆ, DUBOLNIĆ-GLAVAN 2015: 56 ff., note. 36, 61, fig. 22.

⁴⁴ On the order of construction of the tabernae (Augustan era, i.e. the beginning of the 1st century AD) and the portico (Flavian era), see SUIĆ 1976: 156-157; 1981: 206, 208. As Suić mentions two earlier buildings on the longitudinal edges of the forum (halls supposedly about 6 m wide), roughly from the end of the Republic or from the Augustan era, which according to him were removed due to the construction of the portico, it is possible to assume that the southeastern portico is the oldest, i.e. that the construction started on that side.

⁴¹ Da je riječ o krajevima girlandi, naslutila je već GOLD-BECK 2015: 137.

⁴² SUIĆ 1981: 208 (3,10 m). Drugdje Suić donosi da je to 3,15 m, odnosno 3,20 m.

⁴³ Usp. bilj. 36. Kada se udaljenost baza usporedi s promjerom stupovlja trijema, dolazi se do zaključka da je interkolumnij bio izveden u standardu između dijastila i areostila (oko 3,40 promjera stupa), koji je po Vitruviju još

zamislamo točno u osi baza (npr. unutar galerije), oni od svoje ukupne širine 1,0-1,02 m prelaze stranice baza u prostore interkolumni za 16 do 20 cm, odnosno polovicu te duljine na svakoj strani. Precizniju mjeru nije moguće dobiti ni jednom metodom jer niti su baze niti su stubci (i istaci) međusobno podudarnih dimenzija. Pribrojimo li tomu pretpostavljenu duljinu pluteja, dobivamo ukupnu duljinu od maksimalno 1,85 m, što znači da nam još uvijek nedostaje 0,30 m. Iz izračuna je moguće zaključiti da stubci i ograda nisu mogli stajati unutar jugoistočnog trijema Foruma, bilo unutar galerije ili atike. Protiv smještaja unutar atike govori uostalom doradenost stražnje strane! Dobiveni rezultat, međutim, ne smijemo automatski aplicirati i na sjeverni ili južni trijem jer za tako nešto ne postoje sigurni pokazatelji.⁴⁴ O sjevernom trijemu nemamo nikakvih spoznaja, otisci baza tamo nisu otkriveni, a čak i ako je bio iste elevacije i istih dimenzija taberni – što Suić drži vjerojatnim⁴⁵ – stupovi u prizemlju mogli su imati deblja stabla i/ili drukčiji ritam s nešto užim interkolumnama. Ništa bolje nije nam poznat ni južni trijem.

U nastavku na problematiku izvornog smještaja stubaca i njihova eventualnog povezivanja s trijemom Foruma – koje se u ovom trenutku usprkos svemu čini najlogičnijim izborom – moramo se dotaknuti Suićevih prijedloga anastilozne tog dijela arhitekture i

uvijek omogućavao uporabu kamenih arhitrava. Duljinu arhitrava koji su stajali povrh kapitela lako je izračunati jer odgovara zbroju udaljenosti ležišta i njihovih dviju polovica ($2,13 + 2 \times 0,415$ m), tj. iznosi oko 2,95 m. Arhitrav s frizom (monolit) takve duljine uzidan je danas u jedan od pilona Sv. Donata, što je još jedan od dokaza njegove pripadnosti trijemu: MARŠIĆ, DUBOLNIĆ-GLAVAN 2015: 56 i d., bilj. 36, 61, sl. 22.

⁴⁴ O redoslijedu izgradnje taberni (Augustovo doba, tj. početak 1. st. po Kr.) i trijema (flavijsko doba) v. kod SUIĆ 1976: 156–157; 1981: 206, 208. Kako Suić na uzdužnim rubovima Foruma spominje dvije ranije građevine (dvorane navodno široke oko 6 m), otprilike s kraja Republike ili iz Augustova doba, koje su po njemu uklonjene zbog izgradnje trijema, moguće je pretpostaviti da je jugoistočni trijem najstariji, tj. da je gradnja započela s te strane.

⁴⁵ SUIĆ 1981: 206.

northern portico, the imprints of the bases were not discovered there, and even if it was of the same elevation and the same dimensions as tabernae – which is considered to be likely by Suić⁴⁵ – the columns on the ground floor could have had thicker shafts and/or different spacing with slightly narrower intercolumniation. The southern portico is just as poorly known.

Regarding the original placement of the pillars and their possible connection with the forum portico – which at this moment, despite everything, seems to be the most logical choice – we must touch upon Suić's proposals for the anastylosis of that part of the forum and the role he attributed to the two monolithic smooth-bodied columns embedded in the ground floor of St. Donatus.

In the chapter of the “Ancient City” dedicated to the anastylosis of the temple and the forum portico in Zadar, Suić talks about the modules for making the portico columns and the assumed dimensions. According to these data, the height of the monolithic columns (logs) was 4.66 m, the height of the capital 0.56 m. He claims that the diameter at the bottom of the column is 0.52 m, only to state later that the radius of the column's base is 0.28 m!⁴⁶ In the book “Zadar in Antiquity” he does not go into details (due to the nature of the publication) and only states that the two columns from the portico are completely preserved because they were embedded in front of the central apse of St. Donatus.⁴⁷ The unpublished manuscript again brings a certain “synthesis” of both statements, with partially changed dimensions; the diameter of the base is 0.52 m, the diameter of the top is 0.43 m, the height is rounded to 4.70, but it is stated once more that the entire examples of columns are those from St. Donatus whose capitals are 1.10 m high.⁴⁸ The problem with the mentioned anastyloses is that the columns from St. Donatus, according to P. Vežić, are 5.80 m high,

⁴⁵ SUIĆ 1981: 206.

⁴⁶ SUIĆ 1976: 196; 2003: 293-294.

⁴⁷ SUIĆ 1981: 208.

⁴⁸ SUIĆ, p. 30-31, 52.

uloge koju je pridavao dvama monolitnim stupovima glatkog tijela ugrađenima u prizemlje Sv. Donata.

U poglavlju *Antičkoga grada* posvećenom anastilozu hrama i forumskog trijema u Zadru Suić progovara o modulima izrade stupova trijema i pretpostavljenim dimenzijama. Prema tim podacima visina monolitnih stupova (trupaca) iznosila je 4,66 m, visina kapitela 0,56 m, za promjer stupa pri dnu kaže da je iznosio 0,52 m, da bi malo poslije ustvrdio da je polumjer osnove stupa 0,28 m!⁴⁶ U djelu *Zadar u starom vijeku* nije toliko detaljan (zbog karaktera publikacije) i samo konstatira da su dva stupa iz trijema potpuno sačuvana jer su uzidana ispred središnje apside Sv. Donata.⁴⁷ Neobjavljeni rukopis ponovno donosi stanovitu „sintezu“ obaju navoda, uz djelomice izmijenjene dimenzije; promjer osnove je 0,52 m, promjer vrha određen na 0,43 m, visina zaokružena na 4,70, ali se opet konstatira da su čitavi primjerci stupova oni iz Sv. Donata čiji su kapiteli visine 1,10 m.⁴⁸ Problem s navedenim anastilozama je u tome što su stupovi iz Sv. Donata prema P. Vežiću visoki 5,80 m, visine kompozitnih kapitela od 0,90 m i promjera osnove stupa oko 0,70 m.⁴⁹ Drugim riječima, mjere su u očitom nesuglasju.

Premjeravanje dvaju stupova za potrebe ovog rada pokazalo je da se Vežićevi podatci trebaju tek neznatno korigirati.⁵⁰ Visina stabla sjevernog stupa iznosi 5,82 m, a južnoga 5,87 m. Visina kapitela sjevernog stupa je 0,91 m, a južnoga znatno manja – 0,79 m. Sjeverni stup stoji na izvornoj bazi (ali koja ne odgovara ležištima trijema), a južni na palimpsest bazi. Kako su baze stupovlja trijema prepoznate i dijelom izložene – makar na jugoistočnoj strani, o čemu je prethodno

the height of their composite capitals is 0.90 m, and the diameter of the column base is about 0.70 m.⁴⁹ In other words, the measurements are in obvious disagreement.

The measuring of the two columns for the purposes of this paper showed that Vežić's data should be corrected only slightly.⁵⁰ The height of the shaft of the northern column is 5.82 m, and the southern column is 5.87 m high. The height of the capital of the northern column is 0.91 m, and that of the southern column is significantly smaller - 0.79 m. The northern column stands on the original base (but which does not correspond to the portico beds), and the southern one on a palimpsest base. Since the bases of the portico columns are recognized and partially presented - at least on the southeastern side, which was previously discussed - the dimensions are known as well as the appearance and layout of the profiles, and the diameter of the upper surface (*torus*) on which the column shaft rested with a base diameter of 0.63 -0.65 m (Fig. 9). Measurement of columns from St. Donatus showed that the diameter of the lower part of the northern column shaft is 0.74 m, and the southern one 0.70 m (measured on a well preserved part of the column), but when the profiles at the bottom are added to that, their diameter rises to 0.83 and 0.77 m, respectively. This means that they are definitely too big for the bases of the presented part of the portico! The same seems to apply to the capitals, because they are not only too high, but the diameter of the bases (0.68 m northern and 0.62 m southern) are either larger or identical to the diameter of the base of the portico columns, and should be significantly smaller! This leads to the assumption that the two columns with capitals were taken from the ruins of some other massive (forum?) building, and with them probably the base of the northern column. Not all the pieces of columns placed on the portico bases today actually match their

⁴⁶ SUIĆ 1976: 196; 2003: 293–294.

⁴⁷ SUIĆ 1981: 208.

⁴⁸ SUIĆ, p. 30–31, 52.

⁴⁹ VEŽIĆ 2002: 70.

⁵⁰ Mjerenje je obavio fotograf i dokumentarist Arheološkog muzeja Zadar, R. Maršić, kojem ovom prigodom srdačno zahvaljujem.

⁴⁹ VEŽIĆ 2002: 70.

⁵⁰ The measurement was made by the photographer and documentarist of the Archaeological Museum in Zadar, R. Maršić, to whom I would like to express my gratitude.

bilo riječi – poznate su im dimenzije, izgled i raspored profila, te promjer gornje plohe (torus) na koju je nalijegalo stablo stupa promjera osnove 0,63-0,65 m (sl. 9). Mjerenje stupova iz Sv. Donata pokazalo je da promjer panja stabla sjevernog stupa iznosi 0,74 m, a južnoga 0,70 m (mjereno na zdravom dijelu tijela), no kada se tomu pridodaju profili na dnu, promjer im se penje na 0,83 odnosno 0,77 m. To znači da su definitivno preveliki za baze otkrivenog dijela trijema! Isto, čini se, vrijedi i za kapitule, jer su ne samo previsoki nego i promjera osnovica (0,68 m sjeverni i 0,62 m južni) koje su ili veće ili identične promjeru osnove stupova trijema, a trebale bi biti znatno manje! To upućuje na pretpostavku kako su dva stupa s kapitelima uzeta iz ruševina neke druge masivne (forumske?) građevine, a s njima vjerojatno i baza sjevernog stupa. Ni svi komadi stupova danas postavljeni na baze trijema dimenzijama im zapravo ne odgovaraju. Onaj na krajnjem jugu, od zelenkastog *cipollino* mramora s izražajnim venama očito je prevelik i pri tome, čini se, okrenut naopačke, a oni prema sjeveru su premaleni (sl. 9). Uviđa to i Suić, jer u više puta spomenutom rukopisu upozorava da ta rekonstrukcija ima karakter improvizacije te da je izvedena iz didaktičkih razloga.⁵¹ Važno je naglasiti da se jedino u tom tekstu Suić osvrće na stupove iz matroneja (galerije) Sv. Donata, točnije dva koja stoje unutar zazidanih prolaza, za koje vjeruje da su komadi stupova koji su stajali unutar trijema.⁵² Potvrđuje to i njihov promjer 0,55-0,56 m, koji odgovara polumjeru donesenom u *Antičkom gradu*.⁵³ Međutim, kako je već spomenuto, maksimalni promjer stupova mora biti 0,62-0,64 m (sl. 9). Ostaje nejasno zašto Suić ni jednom riječju ne spominje dva stupa postavljena ponad onih u prizemlju crkve, iako su izrađena od istog sivkastomodrastog

dimensions. The one in the southern periphery, made of greenish *cipollino* marble with expressive veins, is clearly too large and, at the same time, seems to be turned upside down, while those towards the north are too small (Fig. 9). Suić also sees this, because in the mentioned manuscript, he emphasizes that this reconstruction has the character of improvisation and that it was carried out for didactic reasons.⁵¹ It is important to emphasize that only in this text does Suić refer to the columns from the matroneum (gallery) of St. Donatus, or rather the two that stand inside the walled-up passages, which he believes are pieces of columns that stood inside the portico.⁵² This is also confirmed by their diameter of 0.55-0.56 m, which corresponds to the radius presented in the "Ancient City".⁵³ However, as already mentioned, the maximum diameter of the columns must be 0.62-0.64 m (Fig. 9). It remains unclear why Suić does not mention a single word about the two columns placed above those on the ground floor of the church, even though they are made of the same grayish-blue stone as the two from the walled-up passages or the columns inside the reconstruction of the portico? Why is this important? Because with their diameter of 0.63 m at the bottom (southern) and 0.64 m (northern), they perfectly match the portico bases! At the bottom of the southern column, a trace of the original double profile can be seen, and at the top of the northern column, the remains of a simple high profile (the same as the profiles of some columns with smaller diameter on the portico that are presented today). That these columns are spolia is evidenced by the fact that they are both broken off at the top, which would not be the case if they were purpose-built and erected. They were broken off in the same way as the pillars in the walled-up passages! This clearly shows that they were also reworked from columns taken from the forum. Applying the modules in which the lower two columns were

⁵¹ SUIĆ, p. 20.

⁵² SUIĆ, p. 31.

⁵³ Usp. bilj. 46.

⁵¹ SUIĆ, p. 20.

⁵² SUIĆ, p. 31.

⁵³ Cf. note 46.

kamena kao i dva iz zazidanih prolaza ili stupovi unutar rekonstrukcije trijema? Zašto je to važno? Jer svojim promjerom od 0,63 m u dnu (južni) i 0,64 m (sjeverni) savršeno odgovaraju bazama trijema! Na dnu južnog stupa zamjećuje se trag izvornog dvostrukog profila, a na vrhu sjevernoga ostatak običnog visokog profila (istovjetnog profilima nekih danas izloženih stupova manjeg promjera na trijemu). Da su ti stupovi spoliji, dokaz je i što su oba pri vrhu odlomljena, što ne bi bio slučaj da su namjenski izrađeni i uspravljeni. Odlomljeni su na istovjetan način kao i stupovi u zazidanim prolazima! To jasno pokazuje da su i oni prerađeni od stupova uzetih s Foruma. Primijenivši module u kojima su izrađena donja dva stupa na one iznad njih (makar okvirno), izvorna visina potonjih ne bi smjela prelaziti 4,40 m, odnosno s kapitelima bi mogla iznositi oko 5 m. To bi bila očekivana visina s obzirom na dimenzije baze te ukupne gabarite trijema.⁵⁴ Stupovi u zazidanim prolazima mogli su eventualno stajati unutar galerije, a visina im je mogla dosežati oko 3,20 m.

* * *

Problem izvornog konteksta stubaca s protomama Jupitra-Ammona i Gorgone neraskidivo je povezan i s pitanjem njihove datacije, o čemu su izneseni sasvim oprečni stavovi. Ovdje ćemo se osvrnuti samo na one s najvećom „težinom“. Pripisivanjem balustradi Kapitolijske i severske bazilike Suić se dvoumio između ranije datacije (koju ne precizira) i kasnije

made to the ones above them (at least tentatively), the original height of the latter should not exceed 4.40 m, i.e. with the capitals it could be around 5 m. This would be the expected height considering the dimensions of the bases and overall dimensions of the portico.⁵⁴ The columns in the walled-up passages could possibly stand inside the gallery, and their height could reach about 3.20 m.

* * *

The question of original context of the pillars with the protomes of Jupiter-Ammon and Gorgon is closely linked to the question of their dating, on which quite contradictory views have been expressed. Here we will refer only to those with the greatest “weight”. By attributing to the balustrade of the Capitolium or Severan basilica, Suić hesitated between an earlier date (which he does not specify) and a later one (the Severan age), to which he was obviously more inclined.⁵⁵ More recently, N. Cambi has on several occasions dated the pillars to the earlier 1st century.⁵⁶ Due to the “intensive” use of drills in the curls, corners of the lips and in other places, Casari places them in the later Antonine period, linking them to the comprehensive program of reconstruction after the Marcomannic Wars.⁵⁷ Rather recently, Goldbeck also dated them to the 2nd century, based on (always dangerous) iconographic-typological comparisons and similar observations about the nature of the use of

⁵⁴ U publiciranim tekstovima Suić je opetovano iznosio mišljenje da je ukupna visina trijema bila i do 15 m, međutim u rukopisu (p. 63) je spušta na 11,60 m (do vrha stupova gornje kolonade). Posljednja je visina prihvatljivija, premda i nju možda treba ponešto spustiti. To potvrđuju tri detalja: samo jedan red stupova-nosača u prizemlju, zidovi pročelja taberni koji nemaju dovoljnu masu (debljinu) da dosegnu preveliku visinu i baze stupova trijema koje su do 10-ak cm (ili za 1/10) kraće od onih s pulskog Foruma (usp. bilj. 30). Začetni zid taberni sačuvao se inače u maksimalnoj visini od oko 6 m (sjeverni zid najstarijeg oratorija): VEŽIĆ 2005: 18.

⁵⁴ In the published texts, Suić repeatedly expressed the opinion that the total height of the portico was up to 15 m, however, in the manuscript (p. 63) he lowers it to 11.60 m (to the top of the columns of the upper colonnade) which is more acceptable, although it may also need to be lowered a bit. This is confirmed by three details: only one row of supporting columns on the ground floor, the walls of the front of the tabernae that do not have enough mass (thickness) to reach big height, and the bases of the portico columns that are up to 10 cm (or by 1/10) shorter than those of the Forum in Pula (cf. note 30). The back wall of the tabernae was preserved at a maximum height of about 6 m (the northern wall of the oldest oratory): VEŽIĆ 2005: 18.

⁵⁵ Cf. notes 5-7 (Suić).

⁵⁶ CAMBI 2002: 89 (Tiberius' period); 2003a: 63 (ibid); 2005: Fig. 25-27 (1st half of the 1st cent.).

⁵⁷ CASARI 2004a: 126 ff., 148 ff.

(seversko doba), kojoj je očito više bio sklon.⁵⁵ U novije vrijeme N. Cambi je stubce u nekoliko navrata datirao u ranije 1. stoljeće.⁵⁶ Casari ih zbog „intenzivne“ uporabe svrdla u loknama, uglovima usana i na drugim mjestima smješta u kasnije antoninsko doba, povezujući ih sa zamašnim programom obnove nakon markomanskih ratova.⁵⁷ Sasvim ih je recentno u 2. stoljeće datirala i Goldbeck, i to na temelju (u uvijek opasnih) ikonografsko-tipoloških komparacija i sličnih zapažanja o prirodi uporabe svrdla, pitajući se ipak nije li zbog brojnih usporedbi taj tip prikaza u Zadru mogao biti zastupljen već u 1. stoljeću?⁵⁸

Smatram da su datacije spomenutih stranih autora dobrim dijelom kontaminirane starijom literaturom te da nemaju odgovarajuće pokriće u stilskim kriterijima, posebice uzme li se u obzir izrada pripadajućih pluteja! Na novootkrivenom komadu pluteja svrdlanje je samo sporadično zastupljeno (sl. 10), dok se na malom fragmentu drugog pluteja (starijem nalazu) istina obilnije rabilo, ali uglavnom bušenjem s pomoću glave svrdla i tek na nekoliko mjesta izradom kraćih kanala. To je posve drukčiji pristup negoli na pluteju s erotima kao nosačima girlandi, gdje se (iz blizine) dobro vide dugi svrdlani kanali unutar kojih su gusti ubodi svrdlom. Casari je s pravom primijetio kako je na slabije očuvanom stubcu Jupitra-Amona brada odvojena od lica svrdlanim kanalima, što mu je jedan od argumenata za datiranje u 2. stoljeće, no sličan postupak bilježimo na stubcu s glavom Jupitra-Amona iz Julije Konkordije, koji ipak datira u sredinu 1. stoljeća⁵⁹ Stoji kako je u Zadru svrdlanje nešto naglašenije, ali ne s tako intenzivnim tretmanom u kosi i bradi, što bismo najprije očekivali kada bi bila riječ o skulpturi s kraja 2. ili početka 3. stoljeća,

drills, wondering if, due to numerous comparisons, this type of depiction could have been represented in Zadar already in the 1st century?⁵⁸

In my opinion, the datings of the mentioned foreign authors are largely contaminated by older literature and they are not supported by stylistic criteria, especially if the modelling of the associated plutei is taken into account! On the newly discovered piece of pluteus, drilling is only sporadically represented (Fig. 10), while on a small fragment of another pluteus (an older find) it was actually used more abundantly, but mostly with a drill bit and only in a few places by making shorter channels. This is a completely different approach than on the pluteus with putti as garland supports, where (up close) one can clearly see long drilled channels inside which there are dense drill holes. Casari rightly noticed that on the less well-preserved pillar of Jupiter-Ammon, the chin is separated from the face by drilled channels, which is one of his arguments for dating it to the 2nd century, but we have noticed a similar procedure on the pillar with the head of Jupiter-Ammon from Julia Concordia which he nevertheless dated to the middle of the 1st century.⁵⁹ Drilling on the Zadar examples is indeed somewhat more pronounced, but not with such intensive treatment of the hair and beard, which we would first expect if it were a sculpture from the late 2nd or the early 3rd century, as is the case, for example, with Satyr's head from the second Zadar set.⁶⁰ And the style of modelling the eyes speaks in favor of an earlier date. Although Casari believes that the state of preservation does not allow us to conclude whether the pupils were marked in the eyes, the photographs taken immediately after the discovery and the current state show two of the three protomes without these details.⁶¹ The only problem is the previously mentioned pillar, because in the right eyeball, inside the exaggerated eyelids, the lowered upper

⁵⁵ Usp. bilj. 5-7 (Suić).

⁵⁶ CAMBI 2002: 89 (Tiberijevo doba); 2003a: 63 (isto); 2005: sl. 25-27 (1. pol. 1. st.).

⁵⁷ CASARI 2004a: 126 i d., 148 i d.

⁵⁸ GOLDBECK 2015: 137 i d. Autorica se nije koristila ovdje citiranim Cambijevim radovima.

⁵⁹ Usp. bilj. 34 (Casari).

⁵⁸ GOLDBECK 2015: 137 ff. The author did not use Cambi's works cited here.

⁵⁹ Cf. note 34 (Casari).

⁶⁰ Cf. CAMBI 2003b: 114, fig. 6.

⁶¹ CASARI 2004a: 126.



SLIKA 10. Fotokolaž dijela ograde sa stubcem i plutejom (izradio: D. Maršić)

FIGURE 10 Photo collage of a part of the railing with pillar and pluteus (made by D. Maršić)

kao što je npr. slučaj na Satirovoj glavi s drugog zadarskog seta.⁶⁰ I stil izrade očiju govori u prilog ranijoj dataciji. Iako Casari smatra kako stanje sačuvanosti ne dopušta zaključak jesu li u očima bile naznačene pupile, fotografije nastale odmah po otkriću i današnje stanje prikazuju dvije od tri protome bez tih detalja.⁶¹ Problematičan je jedino prije spomenuti stubac jer se u jabučici desnog oka, unutar prenaplašenih kapaka, nazire i opipava sniženi gornji dio, no istoga čini se nema u lijevom oku, a i spomenuti detalj nije usječen nego koso udubljen, pa se s velikom sigurnošću može zaključiti kako je riječ o oštećenju kamena.

Zadarski stubci morfologijom se posve očito naslanjaju na starije serije stubaca iz Pule i Akvileje, datirane svakako u julijsko-klaudijsko doba, a stilski su i formativno drukčiji od primjeraka drugog zadarskog seta. Drukčiji su im motivi, debljina i duljina pluteja, način

part can be seen and felt, but the same does not seem to be the case in the left eye, and the mentioned detail is not cut but obliquely impressed, so it can be concluded with great certainty that it is actually damage in the stone.

The morphology of the Zadar pillars is quite obviously similar to the older series of pillars from Pula and Aquileia, dated to the Julio-Claudian period with certainty, and they are stylistically and formatively different from the examples of the second Zadar set. They differ in motifs, the thickness and length of the plutei, the way of connecting the columns and the plutei, the execution of the garlands, and it is not at all likely that they are (at least approximately) contemporary.⁶² We also saw that the Zadar pillars are connected to the Pula specimens by the presence of large grooves on the back, which is an extremely important detail! The execution of garlands with fruits and decorative ribbons at the double ends on our pillars (Fig. 10) finds its best comparisons on the sepulchral altars of

⁶⁰ Usp. CAMBI 2003b: 114, sl. 6.

⁶¹ CASARI 2004a: 126.

⁶² Such opinion is expressed by CASARI 2004a: 128.

spajanja stubaca i pluteja, izvedba girlandi, te nije nimalo vjerojatno da su (makar približno) suvremeni.⁶² Vidjeli smo i da zadarske stubce s pulskima povezuje prisutnost velikih utora na poledini, što je iznimno važan detalj! Izvedba girlandi s voćnim plodovima i ukrasnim vrpcama dvostrukih krajeva s naših stubaca (sl. 10) najbolje usporedbe nalazi na grobnim arama grada Rima iz ranijeg 1. stoljeća.⁶³ I rješenje s vješanjem krajeva girlandi na glave (tj. krajeve stubaca) usporedivo je praksi s grobnih ara grada Rima, datiranih redovno u 1. stoljeće, gdje često vise obješene o ovnujske rogove ugaono postavljenih glava Jupitra-Amona.⁶⁴ Zapravo, girlande na zadarskim stubcima izradom su i sastavom nesumnjivo na tragu girlandi s pulskih i akvilejskih pluteja! Cijeli je niz razloga koji idu u prilog ranijoj dataciji, pri čemu ne treba isključiti da su neki stubci iz julijsko-klaudijskog, a neki iz flavijskog doba. Stariji autori za detalje izrade pluteja, naravno, nisu mogli znati. Recimo na kraju i to da je teško povjerovati kako je Zadar dekoraciju koja je očito bila vrlo važnog imperijalno-propagandnog karaktera (što u ovom radu posve zaobilazimo) dobio tek krajem 2. stoljeća, kad su je Akvileja, Trst i Pula imali već prije sredine 1. stoljeća.

Na temelju trenutačnih spoznaja može se zaključiti kako zadarski stubci s protomama Jupitra-Amona i Gorgone sigurno nisu stajali kao čeona balustrada Kapitolija (zbog tehnoloških razloga), unutar severske bazilike (zbog stilsko-databilnih razloga i premale udaljenosti stubaca), na pročelju nekog podija, odnosno kao oplata postolja ili velikog žrtvenika (zbog fine izrade stražnjih strana koje su se očito vidjele). Nije izgledno niti da su stajali na parteru, svakako ne unutar trijema Foruma, jer bi pluteji kojima su se povezivali

the city of Rome from the earlier 1st century.⁶³ And the solution with hanging the ends of the garlands on the heads (i.e. the ends of the pillars) is comparable to the practice from the sepulchral altars of the city of Rome, dated regularly to the 1st century, where they are often hung from the ram's horns of the angularly placed heads of Jupiter-Ammon.⁶⁴ In fact, the garlands on the Zadar pillars are undoubtedly similar to the garlands from the Pula and Aquileia plutei in their construction and composition! There is a number of reasons in favor of earlier dating, whereby it should not be excluded that some pillars are from the Julio-Claudian period and some from the Flavian period. Of course, the older authors could not know the details of the pluteus modelling. Finally, let us say that it is hard to believe that Zadar received the decoration, which was obviously of a very important imperial-propaganda character (to which we have not paid attention in this paper), only at the end of the 2nd century, when Aquileia, Trieste and Pula already had it before the mid-1st century.

On the basis of current knowledge, it can be concluded that the Zadar pillars with Jupiter-Ammon and Gorgon protomes certainly did not stand as the front balustrade of the Capitulum (due to technological reasons), or inside the Severan basilica (due to reasons of style and dating but also the too small distance between the pillars), on the front of a podium, that is, as a paneling for a pedestal or a large altar (due to the fine workmanship of the back sides which were clearly visible). It is not even likely that they stood on the ground floor, certainly not inside the portico of the forum, because the plutei with which they were connected would have prevented communication with the open part of the square, one of the basic premises of such compositions. In that case, in front of them,

⁶² Takvo mišljenje izražava CASARI 2004a: 128.

⁶³ Usp. npr. BOSCHUNG 1987: 96 i d., br. 641 i 645, tab. 15 (sigurno datirani primjerci).

⁶⁴ BOSCHUNG 1987: 22 i d., bilj. 238, s kronologijom na str. 24 i d., iz koje je vidljivo da gotovo svi sigurno i stilski datirani primjerci idu u kasnije klaudijsko i flavijsko doba.

⁶³ Cf. e.g. BOSCHUNG 1987: 96 ff., nr. 641 and 645, pl. 15 (specimens dated with certainty).

⁶⁴ BOSCHUNG 1987: 22 ff., note 238, chronology on p. 24 ff., from which it is evident that almost all specimens with reliable dating based on stylistic features belong to the later Claudian and Flavian era.

priječili komunikaciju s otvorenim dijelom trga, jednu od osnovnih premisa takvih sklopova. Ispred njih bi se u tom slučaju nalazili počasni spomenici koji bi ih zakrivali (otkrivene su im baze cijelom sačuvanom duljinom trijema).⁶⁵ Sigurno je i to da su im pluteji bili monolitne izrade, ali s vršnom i prizemnom profiliranom gredicom iz više dijelova. Monoliti su nosili prikaze običnih girlandi čiji su krajevi završavali na istacima stubaca (sl. 10). Duljina pluteja može se rekonstruirati na oko 1,65 m, iako buduća istraživanja i neki sretni nalazi, koji će pridonijeti potpunoj rekonstrukciji, može pokazati da su bili i nešto veće duljine.

Detalji izrade stražnje strane i usporedba s Pulom osnažuju pretpostavku kako je tako formirana ograda pripadala galeriji neke masivne forumske građevine, unutar koje su stubci, po svoj prilici, nosili stupove gornje kolonade, ali se jednako mora uvažiti mogućnost da su stajali unutar atike (polukata), u kojem su slučaju mogli ponijeti i neku drugu dekoraciju (kipovi, vaze?). Vidjeli smo da je unutar atike pretpostavljen položaj i akvilejskih stubaca, a sličan oblik trijema s atikom (istina s nešto drukčijom izvedbom pripadajućih elemenata) pretpostavlja se i u slučaju foruma Mediolana.⁶⁶ Na ozbiljnost takve pretpostavke tjera i otkriće ninskog natpisa *CIL* 3, 14322⁴ s kojeg doznajemo kako je lokalni edil Kvint Bebije Zuprik u 1. stoljeću na forumu Enone financirao gradnju jedne taberne s pergulom i menijanom (...*t[abern]am pergu[lam] maenianum... dedit*). Iako se terminu „pergula“ pridaje dvojako značenje, tj. može se shvatiti kao metalni/drveni nosač balkona (menijana) na pročelju trijema ili neke druge građevine, odnosno kao niska prostorija iznad taberne u visini polukata, uvjeren sam da je na ninskom natpisu spomenuto ovo drugo rješenje. Kad bi pergula

there would be honorary monuments that would cover them (their bases were found along the entire preserved length of the portico).⁶⁵ It is also certain that their plutei were of monolithic construction, but with the top and bottom segments molded and made of several parts. The monoliths bore depictions of ordinary garlands, the ends of which ended at the pillar protrusions (Fig. 10). The length of the pluteus can be reconstructed at about 1.65 m, although future research and some lucky find, which will contribute to a complete reconstruction, may show that they were somewhat longer.

The details of the construction of the rear side and the comparison with Pula reinforce the assumption that the railing formed in this way belonged to the gallery of some massive forum building, inside which the pillars probably carried the columns of the upper colonnade, but there is also the possibility that they stood inside the attic (mezzanine), in which case they could have supported some other decoration (statues, vases?). We have seen that the position of the Aquileian pillars was assumed within the attic, and a similar form of the portico with the attic (admittedly with somewhat different design of the associated elements) is also assumed in the case of the Forum of Mediolanum.⁶⁶ The seriousness of such assumptions is also reinforced by the discovery of the Nin inscription *CIL* 3, 14322⁴, from which we learn that in the 1st century, the local aedile Quintus Baebius Zupricus financed the construction of a taberna with a pergola and a *maenianum* (...*t[abern]am pergu[lam] maenianum... dedit*). Although the term “pergula” is given a double meaning, i.e. it can be understood as a metal/wooden support for a balcony (*maenianum*) on the front of a portico or some other building, i.e. as a low room above the taberna at the height of the mezzanine, I am convinced that the inscription from Nin refers to this second solution. If the pergola on that

⁶⁵ Usp. bilj. 36 (sačuvana su ležišta na crtežu označena tamnom bojom).

⁶⁶ CAPORUSSO et al. 2014: 65 i d., sl. 70 i 73.

⁶⁵ Cf. note 36 (preserved beds are marked in dark color in the drawing).

⁶⁶ CAPORUSSO et al. 2014: 65 ff., fig. 70 and 73.

na tom natpisu kojim slučajem i označavala balkon, valjalo bi se zapitati kako bi mu se pristupalo? Odgovor je samo jedan: preko prostorije u njegovu stražnjem dijelu, a to onda pokazuje da pergula na ovom natpisu upravo to i označava – nisku prostoriju u sklopu polukata iznad taberne! Nije nemoguće da su graditelji enonskog foruma i trijema kao uzor imali upravo istorodne građevine Jadera, što bi mogao biti novi vrijedan trag u pokušaju kontekstualizacije stubaca koji su predmet ovog rada.

Obje strukture galerije i atike ponajprije bismo očekivali unutar arhitekture forumskog trijema ili bazilike u Jaderu, ali u obzir mogu doći i drugi objekti sa stupovima ili polustupovima između kojih su se otvarali lukovi (arkade), koji su tako imali dovoljnu masu da ponesu njihovu težinu. Istraživanje i mjerenje *in situ* sačuvanih elemenata pokazalo je da naši stubci nisu stajali u sklopu jugoistočnog trijema, nad tamo sačuvanim izvornim bazama. Tim bazama ne odgovaraju ni stupovi iz prizemlja Sv. Donata, nego eventualno oni iznad njih, u matroneju. Prizemna etaža trijema Forumu morala je zapravo biti znatno niža negoli je to pretpostavljao Suić, pa bi u takvom kontekstu stubci mnogo lakše našli svoje mjesto, osobito u sklopu sjevernog trijema. No ako je taj bio izgrađen prema istim parametrima kao i onaj prezentirani, tu će mogućnost valjati odbaciti. Ne smije se isključiti iz vida ni neka druga građevina na koju ovog trenutka i ne pomišljamo, kao npr. ranija bazilika. Suić je vjerovao u njezino postojanje i tražio ju je iza začelnog zida sjevernih taberni, na mjestu katedrale sv. Petra, no pokazalo se da je tom longitudinalom prolazila ulica sjeverno od koje je bio još jedan red taberni.⁶⁷ Zadar je svakako morao imati baziliku i prije one severske. Takva je građevina mogla imati natkrivenu galeriju ili otkrivenu lođu okrenutu Forumu, koja je

inscription by any chance meant a balcony, one would have to wonder how it would be accessed? There is only one answer: through the room in its rear part, and this then shows that the pergola in this inscription marks exactly that – a low room within the mezzanine above the taberna! It is not impossible that the builders of the Aenonian Forum and portico had the buildings of the same kind from Iader as a model, which could be a new valuable clue in the attempt to contextualize the pillars that are the subject of this work.

We would primarily expect both structures of gallery and attic within the forum portico or the basilica in Iader, but we must also consider other buildings with columns or half-columns between which arches (arcades) opened, which thus had sufficient mass to bear their weight. Research and measurement of elements preserved *in situ* showed that our pillars did not stand in the southeastern portico, above the original bases preserved there. The columns from the ground floor of St. Donatus also do not correspond to these bases, but possibly those above them, in the matroneum. The ground floor of the forum portico must actually have been much lower than Suić assumed, so in such a context the pillars would have found their place much more easily, especially in the northern portico. But if that portico was built according to the same parameters as the one presented, that possibility will have to be rejected. Another building that we do not even think about at this moment, such as the earlier basilica, should also be considered. Suić believed in its existence and searched for it behind the back wall of the northern tabernae, on the site of the cathedral of St. Peter, but it turned out that there was a street in that longitudinal line north of which was another row of tabernae.⁶⁷ Zadar must have had a basilica even before the Severan one. Such a building could have had a covered gallery or an open loggia facing the forum, which for some reason could have survived incorporated into later architecture. The oldest

⁶⁷ SUIĆ 1981: 208, 214. Za ulicu i taberne vidi VEŽIĆ 2005: sl. gore na str. 20.

⁶⁷ SUIĆ 1981: 208, 214. About the street and tabernae see VEŽIĆ 2005: fig. on p. 20, above.

iz nekog razloga mogla opstati uklopljena u kasniju arhitekturu. Jasnije spoznaje o najstarijoj građevnoj fazi Foruma svakako su veliki problem. Drugi znatan problem krije se u činjenici da je objava komparativne građe popraćena nepotpunom dokumentacijom, koja obično ne donosi detalje izrade bočnih i stražnjih stranica.

construction phase of forum is certainly an open question. Another significant question relates to the fact that the publication of comparative materials is accompanied by incomplete documentation, which usually does not provide details of the rendering of the lateral and back sides.

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